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Liisa Salo-Lee

Self-Repairs in Learner Language

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Self-Repairs in Learner Language
Evidence from German at Different Proficiency Levels

Werkstattreihe Deutsch als Fremdsprache

Herausgegeben von
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Band 43

PETER LANG
Frankfurt am Main · Berlin · Bern · New York · Paris · Wien

Liisa Salo-Lee

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PREFACE

This dissertation is on repair which is a characteristic feature of oral discourse. Repair is a highly interactional phenomenon: it reflects how participants perceive a given situation in terms of themselves and others. Furthermore, oral proficiency is also considered, as well as foreign language learners, and their self-repair. Self-repair is found to relate to foreign language proficiency. It seems to reflect the increasing ability of foreign language learners to attain competence in the use of the metalinguistic and metacommunicative functions of language.

Some years have elapsed since the writing of the dissertation. The manuscript has accompanied my journeys from one continent to another. It is evident, however, that recent research in oral discourse and intercultural communication has largely confirmed the suggestion made in the dissertation: repairs appear to play a significant role in foreign language oral proficiency. Language users do not only differ as individuals in their repair behaviour; people from different cultures also may display different repair strategies in their oral communication. This, in turn, may affect how they are perceived as communicators and even as personalities. It is only now that studies on repair from the intercultural perspective are emerging.

The completion of this dissertation would not have been possible without the help of various people who devoted their time to the project. I wish to express my sincerest appreciation to my committee members: Dr. Stefan R. Fink, Dr. Heidi Byrnes, and Dr. Deborah Schiffrin. Two other scholars were involved at the beginning stages of the research for whose contribution I am grateful: Dr. Kurt R. Jankowsky, and Dr. Deborah Tannen.

Throughout the dissertation the influence of two Finnish scholars has been most significant, and I wish to express to them my deepest gratitude: Dr. Nils Erik Enkvist, for bringing me to repair studies, and Dr. Kari Sajavaara, for sharing with me his insights on foreign language acquisition.

The work could not have been accomplished without the help and support of many friends, colleagues, and scholars of whom only a few can be mentioned here. I express my deepest gratitude to Dr. Muriel Vasconcellos who, sharing her linguistic expertise with me, devoted countless hours of her time to consider various problems related to the dissertation. I am also indebted to Dr. Ralph Fasold, Dr. Chong Pin Lin, Dr. Paulo Ortiz de Aragao, Dr. Paula Kalaja who each, in different ways, contributed to the progress of the study.

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On a personal level, I would like to thank my husband, Lee Tsong Shong, for creating the warmth and security of a home for our children and myself during the protracted and sometimes difficult research and writing process.

Jyväskylä, October 1992

Liisa Salo-Lee

CONTENTS

Chapter I. INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Problem 9
1.2 Repairs: Defining the Structure and the Scope . . . 13
1.3 Organization of the Dissertation 18
Endnotes 19

Chapter II. OVERVIEW AND SYNTHESIS OF PREVIOUS RESEARCH

2.0 Introduction 20
2.1 Characteristics of Spoken and Written Discourse . . 21
2.2 Fluency and 'Disfluencies' 26
2.3 Studies on Repairs 30
2.3.1 Sociolinguistic Approach 32
2.3.1.1 Native Speech: Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sachs (1977) 32
2.3.1.2 L2 Learner Discourse: Framework of Schegloff et al. (1977) 35
2.3.2 Psycholinguistic Approach 47
2.3.3 Structural Approach 53
2.4 Repairs and Other 'Disfluencies' in the Literature of Language Teaching and Testing 57
2.5 Conclusions for the Present Research 59
Endnotes 61

Chapter III. THE PROCEDURE

3.0 Introduction 69
3.1 The Corpus 69
3.1.1 Rationale for the Selection 69
3.1.2 Collection and General Description of the Data . . 71
3.1.3 The Communication Partners 73
3.1.3.1 Students 73
3.1.3.2 Interviewers 74
3.1.4 The ACTFL/ETS Oral Proficiency Interview 75
3.1.4.1 The ACTFL/ETS OPI: Background 75
3.1.4.2 The ACTFL/ETS Interviewing Process: General Features 76
3.1.4.3 ACTFL/ETS OPI: The Interview Structure 77
3.1.4.4 ACTFL/ETS OPI: Principles for Rating 78
3.1.5 Problems Related to Collection of the Data 79

3.2	Analysis of the Data	83
3.2.1	Method of the Analysis	83
3.2.1.1	Transcription of the Data	83
3.3	The Basic Conceptual Framework	85
3.3.1	Enkvist and Björklund (1986): Taxonomy of Structure Shifts	86
3.3.2	Application of the Taxonomy of Enkvist and Björklund (1986) to the Present Research	92
3.3.3	Terminological Specifications	92
3.3.4	Fine-Tuning of the Taxonomy	93
3.3.5	The Modified Taxonomy and Definitions of the Categories	94
3.3.6	Exclusions from the Analysis	104
3.3.7	Conversational Structure	105
3.3.8	The Unit of Analysis	107
Endnotes		111

Chapter IV.	THE RESULTS	
4.0	Introduction	116
4.1	Quantitative Analysis of the Data	117
4.2	Qualitative Analysis of the Data	128
Endnotes		143

Chapter V.	CONCLUSIONS	
5.1	Summary of the Objectives and the Procedure	144
5.2	Review of the Results	145
5.3	Main Points of the Discussion	146
5.4	Implications for Further Research	149
5.5	Pedagogical Implications	151
Endnotes		156

BIBLIOGRAPHY 157

APPENDICES

I.	Transcription Conventions	171
II.	Three Examples of ACTFL Oral Proficiency Interviews	172
III.	Morphological Repairs: Subcategories	197

I. INTRODUCTION

1.1 The Problem

The purpose of the present study is to look at self-repairs by L2 learners at different levels of oral proficiency. More specifically, the study focuses on self-repairs by college students, English speakers (L1) of German (L2), in their face-to-face interaction with native speakers of German.

Not many studies have been done on L2 learner repairs. Some unspecified suggestions have been made about the relationship between repair behavior and the proficiency level of L2 learners (e.g. Raupach 1980), but only a few of researchers have tied repairs to proficiency level and attempted to investigate this relationship in a more systematic fashion (Schwartz 1980; Faerch and Kasper 1982; Stewner-Manzanares 1983, 1984). However, the focus in the research of these authors was narrowly discourse organizational, and in the first two cases their database was rather limited (see Chapter II for an overview of these studies). Moreover, the observations of these investigators of L2 learner repairs about the relationship between repairs and proficiency levels were made with a particular conceptual framework in mind, that of Schegloff et al. (1977--see Chapter II, Section 3.1.1.). Within this framework not much consideration is given to the implications of repairs with regard to language structure.

Thus, none of the above authors has systematically explored how L2 learners at different levels of oral proficiency actually differ in their ability to manipulate language structure in doing their repair work. Yet a systematic investigation into this aspect of language use, based on a large and representative sample, may contribute significantly to our understanding of the development of proficiency in L2 learners. In addition, no one has investigated, from structural or other perspectives, the way in which L2 learners of German differ in their repair behavior at different levels of proficiency.

Given the prevalent discourse-organizational perspective of repair studies, the literature has produced very little to date on the classification of repairs. The framework of Schegloff et al. (1977), with its distinction between self- and other repairs, is the best-known effort (self-repairs are initiated and/or completed by the speaker; other-repairs are initiated and/or completed by the listener--see Chapter II, Section 2.3.1.1, for further discussion). A few investigators of repairs in L2 language have made a tentative distinction between repairs related to formal, or grammatical, aspects of language as contrasted with repairs related to communicative aspects of language, i.e. those aspects that relate to the successful transmission of intended meanings. This type of a distinction is made, for example, albeit without any elaboration, by Faerch and Kasper (1982) in their discussion of repairs by L2 learners. Their work on "formal repairs" apparently refers to

grammar-related repairs--for example, morphological ones (cf. 1982: 89). "Functional repairs", as Faerch and Kasper call the other type, are considered to result from a perceived mismatch between the learner's communicative intentions and linguistic resources (88). Stewner-Manzanares (1983) implies a similar distinction with her categories of "linguistic" and "background" repairs. Tarone (1980), in her studies of interlanguage, draws a theoretical distinction between (1) repairs that move an utterance "closer to correspondence with intended meaning" (425), and (2) those that move it "closer to correspondence with socially accepted form" (ibid.).[1] Similarly, Fathman (1980) identifies "semantic" corrections in addition to phonological, morphological, syntactic, and lexical self-corrections in her L2 learner data. The division into the two main groups may also be valid for native speech. For instance, Enkvist and Björklund (1986) imply as much in their concept of "structure shifts", which covers both "corrections" and "improvements" (1).

None of the above researchers of L2 learner repairs, however, has systematically studied the relationship of either of the "formal" or "communicative" types of repairs in terms of levels of oral proficiency. Only a few considerations in this regard can be found in the literature. Faerch and Kasper (1982) state, for example, that in their data (college students of English) both "functional" and "formal" repairs occurred among advanced L2 learners (their highest level). However, the most frequent repair pattern

among these learners was "formally motivated self-initiated self-repair" (90). Stewner-Manzanares (1983, 1984), again, investigating self- and other-repairs in the discourse of adult L2 learners of Spanish (from a non-conventional teaching environment, i.e. the Foreign Service Institute) implies a directional change in the relationship between "linguistic" and "background" repairs, the latter type becoming more frequent as proficiency increases. Since this issue was not explored in depth, and since the criteria have not been fully clarified, it is not possible to conclude whether these implications in the research of Faerch and Kasper, on the one hand, and Stewner-Manzanares, on the other hand, are as contradictory as they appear.

Against this background, the present research undertakes to describe, from a structural perspective, the repairs produced by L2 learners of German at different levels of proficiency. On the assumption that two basic types of repairs--(1) repairs related to the code, and (2) repairs related to the message--can be distinguished in L2 learner discourse, it is hypothesized in the present study that the proportion of discourse-related repairs relative to the total number of repairs differs according to the proficiency level. It is expected that the use of discourse-related repairs will increase with increasing proficiency. It is also hypothesized that the proportion of code-related repairs relative to the total number of repairs will differ by proficiency level.

In order to pursue the goal of the present research, i.e. to describe self-repairs in L2 at different levels of proficiency, it is necessary to adopt--or develop--a model of analysis that can be applied to the comparison of the oral discourse produced by the L2 learners. Considerations regarding a conceptual framework as well as a taxonomy that permits the testing of the above hypotheses are discussed in Chapter III. The sample population involved in the present study is also discussed in Chapter III.

1.2 Repairs: Defining the Structure and the Scope

During a conversation, "almost anything that anyone says is a candidate for repair either by the speaker him/herself or by a listener" (Schiffrin 1987:74). If a repair is initiated, it is generally recognizable in the discourse by certain signals and a certain structure. Self-repairs--repairs initiated by the speaker, which are the focus of this study--are signaled by different means, ranging from slight hesitations to more explicit verbal devices. These signals may or may not be followed by a correction, or a modification, to what was said before. Different researchers have different criteria, depending on their research paradigms, for deciding what should be called a repair and what falls into other categories such as hesitations, communication strategies, etc. The majority agree, however, on the basic structure of repairs.

According to Goffman's terminology (1981), a repair basically consists of two parts: a "reaction" of the speaker to his "speech error," and a "remedy" to this "error." Levelt (1983) illustrates the structure more specifically:

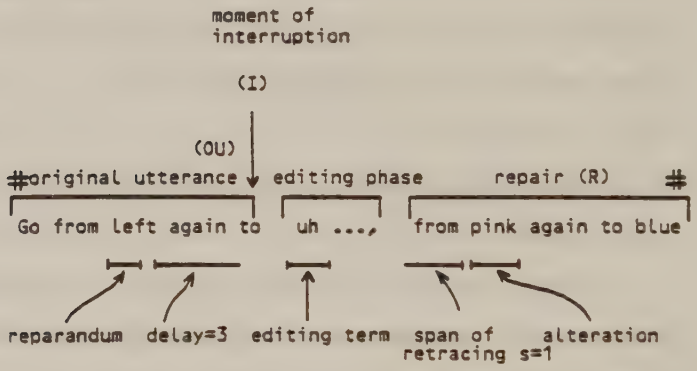

Figure 1. Repair structure (Levelt 1983:45)

Usually a repair is preceded by a functional repair marker (the "editing phase" in Levelt's illustration). The marker also serves, for the listener, as an orientation signal for an upcoming error correction. Jefferson (1974) proposes an "Error Correction Format" according to which listeners recognize an error and its repair: $WORD_1$ + HESITATION + $WORD_2$ ($WORD_1$ is considered the error and $WORD_2$ its correction). She argues that "each instance, whether fully verbalized, partially verbalized, or merely projected,

achieves its status as a recognizable error through the systematic use of a device available to the conversationalists" (185). Also, this format makes it possible for listeners to distinguish between a simple hesitation and the correction of an error (187).[2]

Previous studies have identified a repair marker prior to a repair. In my L2 learner data, I occasionally observed a functional marker after the corrections or modifications, which I have decided to call "post-repair marker". Laughter, for instance, may function as a further indicator that a repair has taken place (see discussion in Chapter IV, Section 4.2, for "distance markers").

While there seems to be a consensus about the general repair structure among the investigators of repairs, opinions differ as to what can be called a repair. Two principal concepts can be distinguished in the repair research: (1) an all-embracing concept, and (2) a restricted concept of repair.

(1) The all-embracing concept

The pioneers of systematic repair studies, Schegloff et al. (1977), and others working in their framework consider any hesitation to be a repair. Schegloff et al. (1977) recognize a repair structure: the trouble-source, the initiation of the repair, and the completion of the repair. However, not all three of the parts have to be manifested in the discourse. In this view, the hesitation marker 'uh', used for example in connection with a lexi-

cal search, is part of the speaker's repair work. For these authors, actual corrections are only a subclass of repairs.

(2) The restricted concept of repairs

Other researchers, including L2 researchers such as Faerch and Kasper (e.g. 1982), have a more restricted concept of repairs. They regard as repairs only those corrections in which the trouble-source, the "error", and its correction are manifested in the discourse. In other words, in order to be classified as repair, the correction activity has to have structural implications on the discourse.

A similar concept is implied in Schiffrin's definition of repairs: "Repair is a speech activity during which speakers locate and **replace** a prior information unit" (1987:74; my emphasis).

Structural considerations prevail also in the concept of repairs proposed by Enkvist and Björklund (1986). They regard repairs as "structure shifts", i.e. "all types of correction or improvement in which the speaker leaves a structure uncompleted and either abandons it altogether or shifts to another structure" (1986:1; see Chapter III, Sections 3.3, 3.3.1 for further discussion).

For my study, I found the restricted concept of repairs to be more useful. Nevertheless, hesitations are recognized to be part of the native speaker's repair work in the broader sense of Schegloff et al. (1977). A study of all types of stalls and hesitations

in L2 learners might give insights into language processing in general--both L1 and L2 (see, for example, comparative L1/L2 studies reported in Dechert and Raupach 1980). However, the broader concept does not seem to be widely applicable or particularly useful if one wants to systematically examine specific features of L2 learner repairs (see also Faerch and Kasper 1982). In the present study a repair is taken to be a "clearly bounded and discrete" discourse unit (Schiffrin 1987:167) which can easily be identified by the listener as a repair (ibid.; see also Jefferson 1974): an interruption of a structure, an eventual editing signal ("repair marker"), a correction, a modification of the previous structure, or a shift to a totally different structure (see Enkvist and Björklund 1986). An example from my corpus:[3]

> **was vereinigten staaten betrifft glaube ich dass + dass die + immer bezeugt sind dass + bezogen sind [quick] dass sie + dass es ihr pflicht ist + die freiheit in in allen ländern zu versichern ist.** (1-17-1/7)
>
> as for the United States I think that + that they are always convinced [error in German] + are convinced [quick, still an error] that they + that it's their obligation to safeguard freedom in all countries.

This concept of repairs promises to be valuable for L2 teaching and testing as well. By observing the repair activity of L2 speakers, an informed L2 teacher or tester may be able to detect some of the L2 speaker's problem areas.

1.3 Organization of the Dissertation

Chapter II gives an overview and synthesis of previous research. It also points out certain problems relating to previous investigations of repairs.

Chapter III describes the procedure adopted in the collection and analysis of the data. It contains a description of the corpus (30 ATCFL oral proficiency interviews of L2 learners of German), the steps followed in the analysis, the basic conceptual framework (Enkvist and Björklund 1986), my own taxonomy, and definitions of the classification categories.

Chapter IV presents and discusses the results of the analysis. Both quantitative and qualitative analyses were carried out.

Chapter V contains a conclusion and a summary of the objectives, procedure, and results of the study. Implications of the study for further research and L2 teaching are discussed.

ENDNOTES FOR CHAPTER I

[1]Tarone (1980) considers repairs of type (1) to be communication strategies rather than repairs.

[2]Jefferson's study focuses basically on 'uh' as a hesitation marker

[3]For transcript conventions, see Appendix I. The numbers corresponding to the examples are as follows: 1st number = student; 2nd number = page of the interview transcript; 3rd number = line(s) on that page. The German examples are printed in bold face. If there is an English translation, it follows immediately thereafter. Only an approximate equivalence of the German test is given here to guide the reader.

II. OVERVIEW AND SYNTHESIS OF PREVIOUS RESEARCH

2.0 Introduction

Repairs, a phenomenon typical of spoken language, have recently received increasing attention. Nevertheless, the literature is still quite scarce. Most of the work has been done on native speech; there are only a small number of studies that focus on repairs in the discourse of L2 learners. Of these, fewer still relate repairs to levels of oral proficiency, and only two reports are known to me on research with learners of German.

In spite of the lack of exploration of repairs proper, a sizable body of research exists, however, on spoken discourse. The last two decades have brought new perspectives on studies of spoken language.[1] Several researchers have compared oral and written communication and found that such "performance features"[2] as hesitations, repetitions, false starts, and corrections are in fact essential characteristics of natural speech and have important discoursal functions. The new attitudes toward these 'disfluencies' have also led to discussions about 'fluency' and the need for re-evaluation of this concept. These theoretical considerations are only now reaching the fields of language teaching and testing and are not widely reflected in the literature. It is precisely in these areas that written language, with the biases of "correctness" has often, consciously or not, been the norm against which the

oral performances of students have been evaluated.[3]

In the following review, I will first discuss characteristics of spoken and written language, respectively. Second, I will present highlights from the discussions of fluency and 'disfluencies'. Third, I will discuss in greater depth the theoretical framework of repairs, both in native speech and L2 learners' discourse. Finally, I will deal with some pedagogical considerations that the above discussions have raised in the literature on communicative language teaching and testing.

2.1 Characteristics of Spoken and Written Discourse

One of the major approaches to understanding and appreciating the nature of spoken language is to compare it with written discourse. This comparison has been undertaken from a variety of standpoints.[4] Regardless of the premises, the different comparisons agree in attributing a tendency toward certain surface characteristics in one or the other mode. The present section deals with some of the properties that have been identified for spoken and written language. I will first briefly discuss how 'spoken language' has been delineated in relation to 'written language' in each case and then present the respective characteristics.

All the authors cited in this section share the explicit or implicit assumption of an oral-written continuum and emphasize the

interaction of the communicative situation with the spoken-written distinction. Chafe (1982, 1986; Chafe and Danielewicz 1985) highlights the differences between spoken and written language, comparing the two extremes of a 'formal-informal' dimension, i.e. informal conversation with formal academic written prose.[5] Without explicitly focusing on differences, Ochs (1979a) introduces a 'planned-unplanned' dimension: 'unplanned' discourse for her is "discourse that lacks forethought and organizational preparation" (55), and 'planned' discourse is "discourse that has been thought out and organized (designed) prior to its expression" (ibid.).[6] For Enkvist (1982), "all discourse involves planning, even at several levels" (11). He uses three variables to describe the degree of 'impromptuness':[7] (1) scripting, (2) extent of the planning span, and (3) boundness to traditional macrostructural templates.[8] Maximally impromptu speech would thus be "at the same time completely unscripted, maximally unprepared (minimal in planning span), and minimally bound to macrostructural templates" (15). However, Enkvist, like Tannen (1982) and Lakoff (1982), points out the intricate ways in which the spoken and written modes interact. For instance, a well-prepared test can be camouflaged to appear impromptu by use of hesitations, repairs, and syntactic deviance. Or the planning span may be of different length for different participants in a given situation. In an interview, for example, the interviewer has a longer planning span than the interviewee, who is

unable to control the dialogue enough for proper planning (Enkvist 1982).

Spoken language, considered from the above viewpoints, typically evinces characteristics that are different from those of written language. Chafe, among others, attributes the differences to two kinds of constraints:

(1) Time constraints;

(2) Interactional and contextual constraints, such as the presence or absence of an audience, the purpose of speaking/writing, the subject matter, and the context in which language is being used.[9]

According to Chafe, the time pressure inherent in speech production, and the consequent inability of speakers to edit the language produced, give a 'fragmented' quality to speech as opposed to the 'integrated' quality of writing. The social interaction in speaking activity seems to foster 'involvement', whereas the isolation of a writer is reflected in 'detachment'--from himself, from the audience, and from "concrete" reality (Chafe 1982, 1986; Chafe and Danielewicz 1985).

Time constraints, according to Chafe and Danielewicz (1985), result in the following characteristics:

Spoken language

- Short "idea units," approximately 6-7 words in English;[10]
- Syntactically simple idea units (otherwise there are likely to be 'disfluencies' such as hesitations, false

starts, repetitions, etc.);[11]

- Idea units joined into sentences simply by chaining or coordinating (usually with 'and');
- Afterthoughts (expressed after premature sentence closure);
- Limited and less varied vocabulary;[12]
- General vagueness, inexplicit reference, and use of hedges.[13]

Written language

- Longer idea units (often 10-11 words) expanded (e.g. in English by prepositional phrases, nominalizations, and attributive adjectives);
- Elaborated and more complex syntax;
- Richer and more varied vocabulary;
- Language that is more explicit and less hedged

With regard to interactional constraints, Chafe (1982, 1986) and Chafe and Danielewicz (1985) claim that 'involvement' and 'detachment' are manifested in language by various devices. Involvement features, for instance, include references to the speaker (e.g. I in English) and his mental processes (I think), and the use of discourse markers in monitoring the information flow (well) or in verifying the cooperation of the listener (you know). Detachment devices, for example, are passive constructions, nominalizations,

and probabilistic generalizations (e.g. principally).

Other authors have come to similar conclusions. Tannen (1982) has found evidence of more syntactic complexity in the written than in the spoken version of the same narrative. Schank and Schoenthal (1983), comparing spontaneous spoken German with edited versions of the same test (an edited spoken version and a contrived written version), found that spontaneous speech typically shows the following characteristics: short utterances, incomplete sentences, anacolutha,[14] paratactic joining of sentences, frequent sentences beginning with und, pragmatic particles (Abtönungspartikeln and Gliederungssignale),[15] and fillers that are not recognizable as lexemes. The sentences occurring in the edited tests were well formed and complex. Abtönungspartikeln were infrequent in the edited spoken test and absent in the written version. Gliederungssignale were absent from both the edited spoken test and from the written. Both types, in general, tended to minimize redundancy. This finding with regard to redundancy coincides with the observation by Ochs (1979a) that unplanned discourse tends to be lengthier than a corresponding planned version and that more "discourse space" is taken up in relatively unplanned discourse. For instance, there are repairs, repetitions, and other hesitation phenomena, and there are more coordinate constructions as opposed to subordinate ones. Lakoff (1982), in turn, speaks of a "burden of immediacy" (Lakoff 1982) in spontaneous discourse, which leads to lack of

"clarity", hesitations, use of "wrong" words or phrases, repetitions, etc. (ibid.). In general, one "cannot be spontaneous and polished at the same time" (ibid:242).

The foregoing discussion on the characteristics of spoken and written language can be summarized by citing Enkvist (1982). In impromptu speech, he says, people tend to:

> hesitate, pause, get mixed up in their syntax, repeat themselves, begin sentences in one way but stop and complete them in another, go back and repair, allow their verbal communication to be interwoven with paraverbal and non-verbal actions which affect the test, and refer deictically to objects around them. (16)

In other words, natural spontaneous speech is most typically 'disfluent'. Recent discussions on fluency and 'disfluencies' and the need for the re-evaluation of these concepts are the subject of the following section.

2.2 Fluency and 'Disfluencies'

The previous section dealt with recent research on spoken discourse and the new perspectives gained in these studies. In contrast to writing, one essential characteristic of spoken language is repairs. In the present section repairs are dealt with in relation to fluency. Fluency is an aspect of spoken verbal behavior that is commonly given as the overall objective of language teaching.[16] In most testing for oral proficiency it is an explicit criterion of assessment. Yet, the concept of 'fluency' is largely

unexamined, and to date no exhaustive account has been given of it in the literature. In this section I will present relevant points from recent works on fluency that draw on our current knowledge about the nature of spoken discourse. I will first focus on attempts to define fluency and then discuss how 'disfluencies' interact with fluency.

There is no simple answer to the question "What is fluency?" Sajavaara and Lehtonen (1978) say that "it is much easier to give an exact definition for 'disfluency' than for fluency" (51). Leeson (1975), who tries to define fluency in operational terms, also admits that "fluent verbal behavior is a complex, multifaceted phenomenon, the analysis of which does not lend itself to neat compartmentalization" (150).[17] Traditionally, fluency has been approached from the point of view of the speaker, i.e. from that of production. More recently it is being seen as a two-way phenomenon in which the listener has a decisive role. Fillmore (1979), for instance, represents the former approach. For him fluency covers "a range of language abilities" (92) and is related to "how well people speak their language" (ibid.). Faerch et al. (1984) offer a broad definition of fluency. For them it involves essentially "the capacity to be able to put what one wants to say into words with ease" (143). But they add that fluency is a relative concept and it depends partly on personality and also on various psychological and social factors. The importance of the listener's behavior and its

"echoic or feedback" effects on the speaker's performance is pointed out by Leeson (1975). Repairs and hesitations, for example, can be triggered merely by the lack of eye contact with the listener (Erickson 1985). Sajavaara and Lehtonen (1978), while recognizing that "in many cases, performance which may be considered non-fluent does not originate in the speaker at all" (36), go even further and give the most comprehensive treatment of fluency from the point of view of communication. They define fluency in interactional terms:

> If being disfluent or non-fluent means that, according to the listener's intuition, the speaker's performance--or the flow of ideas as transmitted by the speaker's utterances--does not flow evenly and without disruptions, fluency can be correlated to the general acceptability of speech, and ... fluency is in this respect a concept which materializes on the basis of the listener's reactions to a speaker performance (51-52).

In other words, fluency may be associated at least with two factors: natural continuity and general acceptability (Sajavaara 1980:132). More importantly, in any given situation the speech must meet with listener expectations in these respects (ibid.). As was also pointed out in the previous section, language use interacts with the communicative situation. In informal conversations speech is typically "ungrammatical" and disfluent. In formal settings, on the other hand, the expectations are quite the opposite. Sajavaara and Lehtonen (1978) report on studies, theirs and others, which seem to indicate that people are able to speak for long periods with relative fluency if they think that it is required by the situation.

Another aspect taken up by Sajavaara and Lehtonen which is of

interest for the present study is the interrelationship between fluency and the content of the message. Speakers may manipulate certain discourse markers (e.g. well, I mean) to diguise the emptiness of their message.[18] Are these speakers fluent? According to the above authors, native speakers often tend to assess this type of speech as fluent.[19] The ability to make discourse smooth in problematic instances by the use of such 'gambits'[20] and other devices is called "compensatory fluency" by Faerch et al. (1984). Obviously this is one of the questions for further discussion in the present work in connection with L2 learners and the assessment of their oral proficiency.

The above discussions about fluency seem to indicate that there is no "normal" fluency or non-fluency (Sajavaara and Lehtonen 1978:32). The production and perception of speech is affected by innumerable factors involved in communication exchanges, among them, the expectations of speakers and listeners about the communicative situation and cues that they give to each other during interaction. Accordingly, Sajavaara (1980) formulates a "new" concept of fluency:

> Fluency does not mean that speech should be uninterrupted and grammatically flawless in all situations. A competent language user has to learn to hesitate, be silent, correct himself, interrupt other speakers, complete his expressions, and interrupt his speech in an acceptable manner (132; LSL translation).

This statement leads to the second issue raised above, namely, the interaction between fluency and 'disfluencies'. As discussed in the previous section, 'disfluencies' seem to be, on the

one hand, an integral part of the native speaker's performance, at least in given situations. On the other hand, they also seem to be an important factor that influences the perception of fluency or non-fluency. It may well be that it is not a question of a dichotomy of fluency-'disfluency', as has generally been thought in the past,[21] but rather more a question of being 'disfluent' in an appropriate way. As a matter of fact, Enkvist notes that a fluent speaker is allowed to hesitate and correct himself if only he does it appropriately (personal communication). This seems to be one of the fundamental issues in fluency--and indeed, in language proficiency.

Of the various types of 'disfluencies', repairs are among the least investigated. The next section reviews the relevant research on repairs both in native and L2 learner speech.

2.3 Studies on Repairs

As mentioned earlier, the literature on repairs proper is only nascent and still quite sparse. Less than a decade ago Schegloff et al. (1977) wrote:

> In the recent history of linguistics, ... the phenomena of correction--or, more generally, repair--have been largely ignored, in spite of their massive occurrence in the overwhelmingly most common use of language--conversation. ... When the relevance of the general domain HAS been appreciated, it has been "error" rather than repair which has been treated as the central phenomenon of interest. (381)

Although a few isolated works on corrections or related problems did exist before the above statement[22] the majority of the systematic studies on repairs are, indeed, of a very recent date. Three major approaches to repairs can be distinguished in the literature:

(1) Sociolinguistic: Repairs are approached from sociological premises (e.g. Goffman 1981), particularly from the point of view of discourse organization in native speech (Schegloff et al. 1977, Schiffrin 1984, 1987) and L2 learner discourse.

(2) Psycholinguistic: Repairs are expected to throw light on problems related to language comprehension, production, and acquisition.

(3) Structural and combined: Consideration is given to the implications of repairs for formal structures, in some cases along with a psycholinguistic and/or sociolinguistic perspective. Enkvist's research on repairs (1985, Enkvist and Björklund 1986), which has provided a basic theoretical framework for the present study, is discussed in detail in Chapter III.

In the following review I will present the principal works from each group and discuss their basic tenets.

2.3.1 Sociolinguistic Approach

2.3.1.1 Native Speech: Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sachs (1977)

The most influential work on repairs has been done in the sociological tradition by tho ethnomethodologists Schegloff, Jefferson, and Sachs (1977: Jefferson 1974: Schegloff 1979). Their theoretical framework has been validated by several investigators thereafter, both in native speech and L2 learner discourse. The observations of Schegloff et al. (1977) about repairs, as well as about other mechanisms of discourse organization,[23] are based on informal conversations between native speakers.[24] Conversational analysis, as their method of analysis has become to be called, does not focus primarily on language per se but rather investigates the organization of discourse as a form of social action (e.g. Bergmann 1980). The use of language in social interaction involves, according to these authors, intrinsic "troublesources" (1977:381). However, language has a built-in organization mechanism for dealing with these troublesources: the repair system. The organization of repair, like the organization of turn-taking (Sachs, Jefferson and Schegloff 1974), seems to be universal and systematic, independent of the type of conversation (Schreeck 1983). Schegloff et al. distinguish two types of repairs, self- and other-repairs. According to the criteria of who initiates and who completes the repair, they identify four patterns of repair in conversation:

(1) Self-initiated and self-completed repairs;

(2) Other-initiated and self-completed repairs;

(3) Self-initiated and other-completed repairs;

(4) Other-initiated and other-completed repairs.

There are certain discoursal restrictions on the occurrence of self- and other-repairs. The rules operating in the system provide the producer of the trouble-source (speaker A) with the first option to initiate and complete the repair work within his turn, or in the transition space before the turn of the interlocutor (speaker B) (366). Consequently, self-repairs of type 1 are the most common in conversation. If speaker A does not utilize his option to make a repair within the original turn, speaker B initiates the repair, normally in a mitigated form, in his turn.[25] The next chance for speaker A to make a repair is offered in his second turn. Thus, there is an organizationally motivated preference for self-repairs over other-repairs in conversations (362). Other-repairs, which are infrequent in natural conversations may, however, occur more frequently in certain asymmetric conversations. This is true when the other partner is "not yet competent" (381), as, for instance, in parent-child or teacher-student interaction. In such cases

> the other-correction is not so much an alternative to self-correction in conversation in general, but rather a device for dealing with those who are still learning or being taught to operate with a system which requires, for its routine operation, that they be adequate self-monitors, and self-correctors as a condition of competence (ibid.).

Schegloff et al. have a broad concept of repair: it includes corrections of an "error" or "mistake" by a replacement, but it also addresses a "more general domain of occurrences" (363) which is "neither contingent upon error nor limited to replacements" (ibid.). The basic structure of a repair has three components: troublesource, initiation of the repair, and completion of the repair. However, not all these components need to be overtly manifested in the discourse. Repairs can be initiated without audible errors, and audible errors do not always get corrected. For example, only slight hesitations in connection with word searches qualify in this framework as instances of repair (cf. a more limited concept of repairs by Faerch and Kasper 1982, Section 3.1.2 of the present work).

Schegloff et al. deal briefly but not exhaustively with signals for repair initiation (which themselves may count, as indicated above, as repairs). Self- and other-repairs are associated with different "initiator techniques" (367). This is seen by Schegloff et al. as further evidence for distinguishing between the two types of repairs. Self-repairs are signaled by cut-offs, sound stretches, uh's, etc. Other-repairs make use of turn-constructional devices (e.g. What?) to initiate a repair.

Schegloff et al. have often been criticized, among other things, for a disinterest in formal considerations (see discussion in Schreeck 1983). However, although their primary concern has, in

fact, been discourse organization, formal considerations are not totally absent from their work (Schreeck ibid.).

These authors do not offer much explanation for the occurrence of such phenomena as repairs. For instance, the preference for self-repairs is explained by them only in terms of discourse organization. Faerch and Kasper (1982) suggest the "face-saving principle" (according to Goffman 1967) as another possible explanation at the socio-psychological level. Kasper (1985) maintains, additionally, that the observed preference for self-repairs might, as a matter of fact, be an "artefact" resulting from the broad concept of repairs adopted by Schegloff et al. (1977). Even if the work of Schegloff et al. (1977) does not give a full account of repairs, it has provided valuable insights for the present work. It also has been a source of inspiration for a number of studies in L2 learner discourse, which are reviewed in the next section.

2.3.1.2 L2 Learner Discourse: Framework of Schegloff et al. (1977)

Just as self-repairs are favored over other-repairs in informal conversations of native speakers, they also seem to be favored in the discourse of L2 learners. Gaskill (1980) found other-repairs in native speaker-non-native speaker conversations to be infrequent and restricted in form. However, other-corrections occurred if they appeared to be solicited by the speaker. His data

consisted of six conversations of one non-native speaker with different native speakers of English. Four of the conversations were "artificial," i.e. carried out in experimental conditions, and two of them were "natural" (129). In spite of the fairly small number of other-repairs (17 per 30 minutes of transcribed conversation), his observations about their occurrence may be relevant in the contest of the present work. A general observation for all conversations was that the grammatical errors of the non-native speaker were normally not corrected by native speakers. Other-corrections occurred, however, when they appeared to be solicited by the speaker. This was the case particularly with factual, phonological, or lexical problems. Appeals for assistance could be made indirectly, for instance by the use of rising intonation. Appeals were also made more directly in a "correction-invitation format" (Schegloff et al. 1977:379). Lexical searches, in particular, which are a frequent problem for L2 learners, were negotiated in collaboration with the native speaker. Gaskill notes that "word searches provide an environment in which another speaker's assistance is common" (133).

Schwartz (1980) reports on repair behavior in conversations between L2 learners of English at different levels of proficiency. Like Schegloff et al. and Gaskill, she concludes that the organization of conversation favors self-repair. However, Schwartz finds that other-repairs are not infrequent in the category of "not yet

competent." She considers negotiation to be an important part of repair work in natural conversations. Her research data consisted of three 15-minute videotaped conversations between pairs of nonnative speakers of English. Each pair represented one of the three proficiency levels: elementary, intermediate, or advanced. Both linguistic and extralinguistic features were included in the analysis. Like Gaskill, Schwartz found word searches to be particularly interactive and collaborative processes, involving self- and other-repairs (although Gaskill looked at other-repairs only). However, other types of self-repairs (e.g. hesitations) also involve negotiation, even if not overt, since they are based on speaker concern with being understood by the listener. Non-verbal behavior was found to be an important indicator of self- and other-repairs, and it was also interpreted by the speaker as the initiation of an other-repair. Initiation of self-repairs was often signaled, for example, by a diverting of the gaze away from the listener, hand rotation, or posture changes. Initiation of other-repairs was indicated by expression changes, posture shifts, and lip-parting. The listener's non-verbal signals influenced the speaker's repair behavior considerably. For instance, a listener's head-tilt alone could elicit repair activity by the speaker. On the other hand, lack of any extralinguistic reaction from the listener also initiated a series of repairs until a sign of approval was perceived.

Both Gaskill and Schwartz studied the organization and operation of repairs in informal conversations: Gaskill between native speakers and L2 learners, Schwartz between L2 learners. The latter suggests an association between repair behavior and level of oral proficiency, but she does not explore this relationship. Although both advance relevant observations, their data base is too narrow to allow for any generalizations.

Whereas the foregoing authors were working with informal conversations and with a narrow data base, Stewner-Manzanares (1983, 1984) has reported on repairs in oral proficiency interviews at the U.S. Foreign Service Institute (FSI) using a data base of 38 learners of Spanish. Like Gaskill and Schwartz, Stewner-Manzanares confirms a general preference for self-repairs over other-repairs in L2 learner discourse (1983). However, she suggests that the use of self- and other-repairs interacts with the communicative situation and the level of proficiency. In the oral proficiency interviews, the interviewers have been given explicit instructions not to correct the testees during the interview. This rule influences the distribution of the occurrence of self- and other-repairs. Repairs involving other-correction (e.g. appeals) do occur in these interviews, but they tend to decrease in proportion to increasing proficiency.

Stewner-Manzanares (1983, 1984) has considered four proficiency levels in her research: 2+, 3, 3+, and the native speaker

level (US Government rating scale). She distinguishes seven types of repairs involving self- or other-correction:

1. Restarts;
2. Linguistic repairs, signaled by repair markers;
3. Background repairs, signaled by repair markers;
4. Clarification sequences;
5. Correction invitations (word searches);
6. Miscomprehension sequences;
7. Misapprehension sequences.

Repair types 1-3 characteristically result in self-correction; repair types 4-7 involve other-correction. Her main findings can be summarized as follows:

- The ability to self-repair increases with increasing proficiency. In other words, there is more reliance on other-repairs at the lower levels of proficiency.
- "Linguistic repairs," as she calls them, are the self--repairs that tend to occur at the lower levels of proficiency. The lack of proficiency at these levels prevents speakers from making the background repairs that are common at the upper levels.
- Comprehension and comprehensibility, especially the latter, are lower level problems and often lead to correction activity.
- An absence of repair markers and metalinguistic expressions in general (e.g. in connection with word searches) is characteristic of the lower levels of proficiency.

The last finding is especially significant. More proficient L2 learners seem to signal repairs in a native-like way and thus

appear more fluent (1984: see also discussion in Section 2.2). In general, Stewner-Manzanares finds the use of discourse markers to be indicative of a higher level of proficiency. She concludes that

> it is perhaps these subtle uses of discourse devices to embellish and add to information that indicate higher proficiency despite imperfect phonological, morphological, and syntactic control. In other words, errors are only one part of the picture. Discourse and how it is organized at different levels of proficiency may add to the growing picture of what it is to be communicatively competent (1984:11).

Except for the present study, Stewner-Manzanares' work is the only one so far available that focuses on repairs in oral proficiency interviews. However, the L2 learners in her data represent a very special group in terms of their previous professional and language learning experience. The teaching methods in the language being tested in the interview are, to a great part, non-conventional. Thus the conclusions of Stewner-Manzanares about the repair behavior of her subjects may not be directly comparable to data obtained from other types of oral proficiency interviews, such as those according to the approach adopted by the American Council on the Teaching of Foreign Languages/Educational Testing Service (ACTFL/ETS), where the interviewees, as a rule, come from a more traditional foreign language teaching environment.

While focusing on discourse organization, Stewner-Manzanares does not study the explicit implications of repairs on L2 language structure, nor does she offer any further specification of "linguistic repairs." Although she concludes that there seem to be

quantitative and qualitative differences in repairs at different levels of oral proficiency, the question is not fully explored. Apparently factors other than discourse organization need to be investigated as well.

Faerch and Kasper (1982: Faerch et al. 1984: Kasper 1985) have broadened the discourse-organizational approach to repairs by adding a psycholinguistic dimension (see discussion in Section 2.3.2 below). Using the framework of Schegloff et al. (1977) as a starting point for their research, Faerch and Kasper investigated repairs both in educational and non-educational settings. Like Stewner-Manzanares, they suggest a correlation between repair behavior and levels of proficiency. They also suggest a close relationship between L2 learners' repair behavior and foreign language teaching.

The observations of Faerch and Kasper (1982) on repairs in informal conversations are based on a small data set: six Danish learners of English from three different levels of proficiency (elementary, intermediate, and advanced), each engaged in a "casual" conversation with a native speaker, the same NS in each case.[26] The authors included the repair behavior of the native speaker in their analysis, since their hypothesis was that it would vary according to the proficiency level of the L2 learner. Their findings on the learners' repair behavior are as follows:

- At the elementary level, there is great need for self-repairs, which cannot be made due to lack of proficiency. Instead of appealing for assistance, learners at this level prefer to reduce their communicative goal when they encounter linguistic problems.

- At the intermediate level, the need for self-repairs is still rather great, but there is now enough proficiency to carry out repairs. Two types of repairs can be distinguished: functional, i.e. a perceived mismatch between the learner's communicative intentions and linguistic means (e.g. word search resulting in language switch), and formal repairs, which depend on the learner's proficiency and the degree of self-monitoring. Also at this level learners tend to reduce their aspirations rather than appeal for assistance.

- At the advanced level, there is little need for self-repair. However, the subject's ability to repair is high. Learners use self-repairs if they consider them communicatively appropriate. Also at this level both functional and formal repairs appear. Most of the functional repairs result from an unsatisfactory word choice. In the formal repairs a close connection is seen to language teaching: emphasis on formal correctness produces more self-monitoring and self-repairing. In general, the most frequent pattern observed among these learners is "formally motivated self-initiated self-repair" (90).

As to the repairs of the native speaker, Faerch and Kasper note that the dominant type in their data was self-initiated and self-completed repair. The native speaker's avoidance of "foreigner

talk," i.e. not adjusting her speech to the proficiency level of the interlocutors, obviously increased her need to other-monitor and self-repair.[27] The majority of the native speaker self-repairs at the lower levels of proficiency were aimed at assisting learners in problems of comprehension. At the advanced level, where learners have acquired nearly native-like comprehension, comprehension-related repairs were rare. The low frequency of learner-initiated other-repairs in the data is explained by Faerch and Kasper as being caused by: the native speaker's extensive use of self-repairs in monitoring the listener's comprehension: the learners' personality ("reducers" rather than "achievers"):[28] and, especially at the advanced level, operation of the face-saving principle.[29] According to Faerch and Kasper (1982), the repair behavior of L2 learners in the above data is "probably best explained as a product of transfer from communicating in their L1 and transfer from the foreign language classroom" (101).

The latter issue--i.e. the relationship of language teaching to L2 learner repair behavior--is the specific focus of Kasper's 1985 work. To investigate how different goals for language learning and teaching determine specific repair patterns, she compared "language-centered" and "content-centered" phases of an English lesson in a Danish high-school.[30] In the "language-centered" phase, the emphasis is on formal correctness; in the "content-centered" phase, the aim is to assist learners in understanding a given text and to

encourage discussion about its content. Kasper concludes that the teaching goal does affect the distribution of repair patterns.[31] In the "language-centered" phase, where formal considerations prevail, the distribution *of* self- and other-repairs in L2 learner discourse is the reverse of naturally occurring conversations between native speakers. In the latter, the most common type are self-initiated and self-completed repairs, which were rare for learners' discourse in the "language-centered" phase. Conversely, the type most avoided in informal native speaker conversations, other-initiated and other-completed repairs, is the preferred type in "language-centered" discourse. "Delegated repairs" are common in this phase: the teacher initiates and another learner completes the repair.[32] In the "content-centered" phase, where language is used as a means of purposeful communication, learners' self-repairs are frequent. However, the educational nature of the discourse is apparent in the equally frequent use of other-initiated and other-completed repairs. "Delegated repairs" are extremely rare in this phase: the teacher normally both initiates and completes the repair. Besides the teaching goal, Kasper mentions other factors that may influence repair behavior in classroom contexts, including the teacher's personal style and the organizational structure of the interaction (frontal teaching vs. group work).

Faerch and Kasper have a more restricted concept of 'repairs' than Schegloff et al. (see discussion in Section 2.3.1.1). For the

latter authors, 'corrections' are a subset of repairs. For Faerch and Kasper, only 'corrections' are repairs. The trouble-source and its correction have to be manifested in the discourse in order for these authors to recognize an instance of repair (Faerch and Kasper 1982: Kasper 1985). For example, hesitations (e.g. in connection with word searches) count as repairs only if they have structural implications for the discourse (Faerch and Kasper 1982).[33]

The "pioneering" studies of Faerch and Kasper on L2 learner discourse in general (Candlin, preface to Faerch and Kasper 1983c) and on repairs in particular have provided insight for the present work. Although the authors draw from an extensive corpus of data, their observations on repair behavior of L2 learners are actually based on a relatively small sample of that data.[34] Like other researchers reviewed in this section, Faerch and Kasper focus on discourse-organizational types of repairs.

In summary, the discussion in the present section has shown that:

- In informal conversations between native speakers, self-repairs are the most common type. Other-repairs are less favored (Schegloff et al. 1977).
- In informal conversations of L2 learners with other learners, self-repairs are preferred. Other-repairs occur if they are solicited by the speaker, and they often have a cooperative and negotiative character (Schwartz 1980).

- In informal conversations between L2 learners and native speakers, the distribution and occurrence of self- and other-repairs depends on the proficiency level of the learners. Influencing factors also seem to be the L2 learners' general communicative behavior (whether they are "reducers" or "achievers"), their previous exposure to foreign language teaching, and the interlocutor's personal style. Various types of repair occur at different proficiency levels (Faerch and Kasper 1982). Gaskill (1980), who did not relate repairs to proficiency levels, reports a preference for self-repairs. Other-repairs occur if they are solicited by the speaker.
- In educational discourse, learners' self-repairs are avoided and teachers' (or other learners') other-repairs of learners' utterances are the most common type. Learners' self-repairs are more frequent in a classroom situation where the emphasis is on meaningful communication and not on language as such (Kasper 1985).
- In oral proficiency testing (FSI), learners' self-repairs are expected by virtue of the situation. The repair behavior of L2 learners depends on their level of proficiency. Other-repairs are solicited mostly at the lower levels of proficiency. Various types of repairs occur at

different proficiency levels (Stewner-Manzanares 1983, 1984).

- Use of repair markers and metalinguistic comments in connection with repairs tends to be rare in L2 learner language (Kasper 1985) and seems to be indicative of higher proficiency levels (Stewner-Manzanares 1983, 1984).

Repairs have been approached from perspectives other than the discourse-analytical. The next section gives an overview of psycholinguistic research on repairs in L2 learner discourse.

2.3.2 Psycholinguistic Approach

In psycholinguistics, the analysis of L2 performance is a new area. Moreover, within this area, only recently has attention been given to repairs. Repairs are expected to throw light on the processes of comprehension, planning, and execution of speech, as well as on the process of L2 acquisition. While it is generally acknowledged in the literature that understanding of these processes is still far from complete, the few existing works on repairs add to an emerging picture of L2 learner repair behavior. I will first discuss how repairs are seen to be related to the comprehension, production, and acquisition of speech. I will then present some of the relevant findings from the studies on repairs.

Repairs have an important interactional function: they facilitate the hearer's task. They contribute to redundancy which, in

its turn, aids in the comprehension of speech (see discussion in e.g. Hüllen 1982). By linking the correction structurally to the original utterance, they also establish discourse coherence for the benefit of the listener (Levelt 1983). Repairs are particularly needed in native speaker-L2 learner interaction, where problems of comprehension are frequent. Native speakers in these occasions either simplify (using "foreigner talk"), or self-repair extensively when conversing with L2 learners (see discussion in Section 3.1.2 in connection with Faerch and Kasper 1982). The learners, on the other hand, may self-repair in order to make themselves better understood within their limited L2 code (Seliger 1980).[35] Repairs may also relate to language comprehension in a broader sense. Levelt (1983) suggests that "monitoring and editing one's own speech involves the mechanisms of normal speech comprehension" (47). According to him, speakers are continuously parsing their inner or overt speech. This parsing takes place as in any normal language understanding. As a result, speakers are able to detect deviances and compare the derived messages with their original intentions (46).

In speech production, self-repairs are "results from a complicated interplay of perceptual and productive processes" (Levelt 1983:45). In the process of planning and executing speech, speakers are constantly monitoring their production, consciously or unconsciously, for correctness and for the communicative effect (Faerch et al. 1984).[36] They also monitor the production of their lis-

teners: structural constraints in the listener's speech may be implemented as repairs in the speaker's next utterance (Levelt 1983). The degree of monitoring varies according to the communicative situation and personal factors. L2 learners, for instance, monitor to different degrees in a given situation depending on how much they focus on correctness (Faerch et al. 1984).[37]

Apart from being indicators of speech or utterance planning (Fathman 1980: Seliger 1980), repairs may also be indicators of the process of L2 acquisition--and indeed, of language proficiency. A study of performance features such as corrections "can be useful for understanding how competence develops and what its parameters may be at the time speech performance is sampled" (Seliger 1980:88).

Much of the research on L2 repairs has been done in contrastive psycholinguistics comparing L2 learner performance with NS performance or comparing L1 and L2 performances of the same speaker. These studies suggest that the repair behavior of L2 learners differs qualitatively from that of native speakers (Raupach 1980). Both native speakers and L2 learners experience problems between the stages of speech planning and execution (Seliger 1980). L2 learners, however, tend to have planning difficulties more easily at high processing loads (Raupach 1980; see also discussion in Enkvist and Björklund 1986). The difference between native speakers and L2 learners in repair behavior consists, according to Seliger (1980), of <u>what</u> gets corrected and <u>how</u> the correction is realized. While

there seem to be no great differences in the kinds of repairs (e.g. repetitions or corrections) between L2 learners from different language backgrounds (Fathman 1980), L2 learners from the same cultural background who share the same native language do "show similar forms of strategies in overcoming difficulties in the comprehension and production of a second language" (Raupach 1980:19). However, there are other factors that affect the repair behavior of an L2 learner, such as the influence of teaching methods and the level of proficiency (Raupach 1980). Also, L2 learners differ in their individual styles of utterance planning and correction. Seliger (1980) divides L2 learners into "planners" and "correctors" according to their preferred behavior. The former group carefully plans utterances internally before producing them, which is manifested in their performance by filled or silent pauses. The latter group prefers to produce an utterance first and then work on correcting it.[38]

Apart from being "planners" or "correctors," L2 learners can also be divided into "reducers" or "achievers" (see discussion in the previous section) according to the communicative strategy they choose when they encounter problems in their speech production.[39] Whether they decide to avoid or face up to the problem in communication can be seen as one of the main "decision points" in a series of decisions and strategies that constitute the "strategy process" (Stedje 1985). The choice of strategies, according to Stedje, is guided by general communicative principles that the speaker arranges

in a hierarchical order depending on the given situation. If, for example, the speaker focuses on the message rather than on formal aspects, his priority communicative principle in that particular situation could be 'to maintain a fluent communication' instead of 'to aim at grammatical correctness' (Stedje ibid:2-3). The hierarchical order of communicative principles is reflected in the language through the choice of strategies, for instance, as self-repairs. Thus repairs for Stedje are markers or indicators of important underlying communicative principles that guide the speaker. She identifies three phases in the "strategy process" over which repairs seem to extend: the problem-solving process, the decision process, and follow-up strategies. The problem-solving phase includes hesitation phenomena such as false starts and pauses. The decision point is sometimes marked (e.g. in German with ja). Follow-up strategies are used if the chosen strategy is found by the speaker to be unsuccessful or inappropriate. These include several face-saving strategies: from restarts to ignorance of the failure, or to direct requests for confirmation. Although Stedje does not focus on repairs in her research, she nevertheless offers relevant observations on the communicative behavior of L2 learners in problem-solving situations. Her research is one of the two available studies involving repair behavior of L2 learners of German.[40]

The research on the repair behavior of native speakers and L2 learners that has been reviewed in the present section represents a

shift of perspective compared with the previous section. In the sociolinguistic approach, repairs are regarded as mechanisms of discourse organization. In the framework of Schegloff et al. (1977), these mechanisms have the function of dealing with the troublesources that are intrinsic to the language. According to the sociolinguistic approach, repairs are often seen as a means of negotiating meaning within a communication. Negotiation has been found to be particularly appararent in highly asymmetric interactions such as between native speakers and L2 learners (e.g. Schwartz 1980; Tarone 1980). In the psycholinguistic approach, repairs are seen as evidence of underlying processes of speech planning (e.g. Dechert and Raupach 1980; Seliger 1980: Fathman 1980), or as an indicator of the speaker's communicative principles and strategies (Stedje 1985). Repair behavior of L2 learners may also be an indicator of their L2 acquisition process and their actual competence in a foreign language (Seliger 1980). In general, repairs are seen to be the result of the complex perceptual and productive processes that are involved in monitoring one's own speech and that of the listener (Levelt 1983).

In attempting to explain repair phenomena in terms of either discourse organization or speech production, neither of the above approaches has specifically focused on the changes that the speaker introduces into the formal structure. Yet, it is this perspective that is of particular interest from the point of view of language

teaching and testing. The next section deals with what I call the "structural approach" to repairs.

2.3.3 Structural Approach

A few of the studies discussed in the previous sections refer to repairs in terms of formal language structure. For instance, Faerch and Kasper (1982) define their concept of 'repair' in terms of structural implications for discourse (see discussion in Section 3.1.2). Nevertheless, they do not develop this perspective in their research. Fathman's (1980) classification of repairs into categories according to grammatical levels involves structural considerations, but she does not explore this perspective.[41] Levelt (1983) presents a psycholinguistic model of monitoring and selfrepairing from the discoursal viewpoint and considers structural elements as they relate to the overall discourse. Still, none of the above researchers focuses on formal language structure as such. The most comprehensive treatment of repairs in terms of their structural implications is given by Enkvist and Björklund (1986; Enkvist 1985). Since their conceptual framework is used as the basic framework in the analysis of the present data, it is discussed in Chapter III. Closest to Enkvist's studies comes the European research on 'anacolutha'.[42] However, very few of these works explicitly discuss repairs. If they are discussed at all, the discoursal and psycholinguistic insights that are present in Enkvist's research tend to be scanted.

In the section that follows I will first discuss 'anacolutha' in relation to repairs and then review a structurally oriented study, the only one available in L2 learner discourse, that deals with morphological repairs by L2 learners of German.[43]

As discussed in Section 1, spoken language tends to be structurally less well formed than written language. The structural "deviances" are sometimes referred to in the literature by the generic term 'anacolutha' (e.g. see Rath 1975, and Enkvist and Björklund 1986 for further discussion). In the broadest sense of the term, 'anacoluthon' seems to include "any structure deviating from some standard of well-formedness" (Enkvist 1985:2). In a more specific sense, as used for instance by Enkvist (1985; Enkvist and Björklund 1986), 'anacoluthon' refers to a blend of two overlapping structures only. Depending then on one's concept of 'anacoluthon', and 'repair', the two phenomena are seen to be interrelated to varying degrees. For instance, Rath (1975), one of the few researchers who explicitly discusses repairs, includes in his concept of 'anacoluthon' most of the phenomena of repair, correction, and hesitation. A more restricted view of anacolutha is adopted by Enkvist (1985; Enkvist and Björklund 1986), who regards them as a specific subtype of repairs. For Rath, anacolutha are "notwendige Normwidrigkeiten mit Informationsgehalt" (necessary information-containing deviations from the norm). Thus anacolutha (including corrections) are commu-

nicatively significant: through them the listener can follow and reconstruct the thought process, using the structural elements to trace the speaker's intention.

Morphological repair, albeit on the formal level of grammar, falls within the conceptual area of structural repairs. These have been focused on by Dietrich (1982). He bases his choice of focus on the frequency of morphological repairs in L2 learner data. Also, morphological repairs, according to Dietrich, are particularly characteristic among students of German at the college level.[44] His data consist of about 100 hours of informal conversations between native speakers of German and four American and four Japanese college students enrolled in an intensive German course at a German university. In analyzing the morphological repairs of these learners, Dietrich concentrates on several variables, including: the relative frequency of self-repairs in general, i.e. the relationship of corrected words to text length; and the success of self-repair in terms of correctness. Dietrich also discusses the interplay of these variables with factors such as duration of stay in the country where the L2 is spoken, and noneducational exposure to L2. The influence of these latter factors is most noticable in the first instance, where an increase in one or the other tends to have a decreasing effect on the number of morphological repairs. Dietrich concludes that the frequency of self-repairs bears a close relationship to susceptibility to monitoring. According to the

author. L2 learners correct "semantically empty" categories (his term) such as gender or case more frequently than "semantically important" categories (his term) like person, number, or tense (ibid:149).

Dietrich's study offers a detailed description of different types of morphological repairs by L2 learners of German. Yet the scope of his research is limited. It is important to examine other types of repairs with structural implications, and their occurrence at different levels of proficiency, in order to have a more coherent picture of repair behavior in L2 learners.

The three approaches to repairs, i.e. psycholinguistic, sociolinguistic, and structural, that I have distinguished and reviewed above are not contradictory. Rather, the different perspectives on repair phenomena are complementary. To approach repairs in terms of their structural implications, building on insights from sociological and psychological research, is an unexplored perspective. It also may be an insightful perspective from the point of view of pedagogical implications.

Since the research in this area is still relatively new, it is not surprising that the subject of repairs is only sparsely covered in the already abundant literature on communicative language teaching and testing. Nevertheless, there are a few works in this field that incorporate insights from research on spoken discourse. Highlights are given in the next section.

2.4 Repairs and Other 'Disfluencies' in the Literature of Language Teaching and Testing

Studies of natural discourse contain a wealth of insights for language teaching and testing. A few of these concepts, more than others, have found their way into the pedagogical literature. Foreign language teachers, for instance, are frequently enjoined to teach not only language "usage", i.e. grammatical rules, but language "use" as well (for a discussion of these terms, see for example Widdowson 1978). Less frequent are references to repairs and other hesitation phenomena as such. How should they be incorporated in a foreign language teaching and testing program? Or should they be incorporated at all? Some suggestions have been advanced in this regard.[45] Kramsch (1981), for example, favors the explicit teaching of "conversational management skills," which include, among others, turn-taking, interrupting, negotiation, and repair. Other authors have made similar proposals, among them Sajavaara and Lehtonen (1978), Krashen (1982), Edmondson and House (1981), Hüllen (1982, 1983), and Enkvist and Björklund (1986). The last-mentioned authors, focusing on repairs, note that "foreign-language teachers too are beginning to pay attention to the importance of giving students some experience of hesitation devices common in the target language but unattainable through spontaneous transfer from L1" (20). There are also more hesitant opinions in

this regard. For instance, Aston (1986) advises caution in teaching "conversational management devices," for a "conversationally competent learner is not merely one who can keep the conversation going at all costs ..., but also one who is not agonizingly unpleasant to talk to" (130).

Sajavaara and Lehtonen (1978) argue that conventional classroom teaching does not prepare L2 learners to handle breakdowns in communication. According to these authors, pauses, and possibly repetitions, seem to be

> the only ways which non-native speakers have to give themselves more time for finding the correct expression: they have never been taught how to behave when they are faced with such a problem, when they have to keep the communication channel open but they have nothing to say or they do not know how to give expression to what they have to say. ... Elements like this should be an integral part of any language course (51).

Similarly, Hüllen (1982) points to the absence of "impromptu elements" in L2 learner's discourse in classroom. In the formal environment of language learning, "the actual language performance ... takes on quite unnatural features" (1983:147).[46] He feels that, among other things, L2 learners should be prepared to face problems in communication, for instance by teaching them how to restructure sentences, how to appeal for help, how to pose questions, in general, how to repair (1983). However, successful application of this principle requires a change in attitude toward formal mistakes (ibid.; also 1982). Rivers (1981) notes, as a matter of fact, that "teachers are often demanding a higher level of

expression in the language class than that achieved in conversation in the native language" (223). Indeed, Sajavaara and Lehtonen (1978), working on native and L2 learner fluency, have come to the rather controversial conclusion that teaching learners how to be 'disfluent' may make them sound more native-like (see also discussion in Kramsch 1981).

In the literature on language testing, there has been little discussion of the characteristics of spoken language. When the subject is addressed, attention is usually given to hesitations in the context of fluency, often with the implication of 'disfluency'. Thus, in criteria for the assessment of oral proficiency, remarks such as in Carroll's "Interview Assessment Scale" (1980) may appear: "Competent speaker. ... Stumbles and hesitates at times but is reasonably fluent otherwise" (135). The Foreign Service Institute (FSI) has incorporated repairs, among other discoursal aspects, as one parameter in the criteria for oral proficiency (FSI 1986). The other widely used test of oral proficiency in the United States, the ACTFL-OPI has included discoursal considerations in its criteria in 1986. Repairs, however, are not explicitly discussed.[47]

2.5 Conclusions for the Present Research

The literature reviewed in this Chapter has shown clearly that repairs are a largely unexplored area of linguistic investi-

gation, including L2 learner discourse. Yet, repairs are obviously a promising clue for understanding the performance and learning process of L2 learners. The few existing studies on repairs, both in native and L2 learner speech, have been motivated to a major degree by sociological or psychological considerations. While they have deepened and enriched our comprehension on the various underlying phenomena at work in L2 learner discourse, they have ignored how L2 learners actually deal with the grammatical and semantic structures of the language, and how they organize them into coherent discourse. The investigation of L2 learner repairs from this perspective is the subject of the present study. The focus on repairs functioning at different stages of L2 learning in German adds to the uniqueness of the present approach.

ENDNOTES FOR CHAPTER II

[1]As pointed out by Coulmas (1986) and Henne and Rehbock (1982), for example, studies of spoken language (and even of conversation, Dialogforschung, or comparisons between spoken and written language) have been done for more than a century. The history of spoken discourse, however, is considerably shorter. For instance, the newer works include such pragmatic-communicative research issues as language use in social interaction, or the focus on different characteristics of a given natural language and their functions in discourse (see also Schank and Schoenthal 1976).

[2]See Enkvist (1982) for a discussion of 'competence' and 'performance'. Earlier studies of language "as idealized code spoken by ideal people in ideal environments" (16) excluded "many of the prominent characteristics of impromptu speech" (ibid.). Restriction of the scope of investigation has failed to account for all aspects of a natural language, one characteristic of which is "precisely its tolerance of departures from the strict codes of traditional syntactic description" (ibid.).

[3]For written language as 'norm', see Enkvist (1982) :

> The difference between impromptu speech and the written standard has often been approached in terms of norm and deviance. Descriptions of written language, in one of its socially dominant styles, have been regarded as the norm, and impromptu speech as an aberration from this norm. The fundamental reason why the written language has been chosen as norm, and speech regarded as an aberration, is to be sought in cultural background: in our civilization grammar has usually been more closely associated with writing than with impromptu speech, and writing is stable enough to favour grammatical description (17).

See also Lakoff (1982) on "a literacy-based model of ideal human communication" (240) in our society. It has long been assumed that "the written form of communication is basic, is more valid than the oral, and that even originally oral discourse must be represented in terms of the rules of written communication to be valid and intelligible" (ibid.).

For the historical roots of these attitudes in German, for example, Coulmas (1986) points to prescriptionism in the 18th century: written (and not spoken) language was to be considered the "model", and "correctness of a language" according to the standards of grammarians was to be aimed at.

For discussions on written/spoken language and language teaching and testing, see e.g. Hüllen (1982) and Savignon (1983). Hüllen reports a lack of "impromptu elements" in L2 learners' classroom discourse, apparently caused by teachers' efforts to control the performance toward "correctness." The same point is made by Savignon (1983), referring to oral proficiency testing: "The quite natural tendency for ... language teachers ... is to evaluate performance in terms of the grammatical features that are typically presented in formal instructional programs, that is, in terms of grammatical competence." (268) She also cites Cazden (1976:79-80):

> Normally, in out-of-school conversations, our focal attention as speakers and listeners is on the meaning, the intention, of what someone is trying to say. ...But teachers, over the decades if not centuries, have somehow gotten into habits of hearing with different ears once they go through the classroom doors. ...We hear only errors to be corrected.

See also Sections 2 and 4 of the present chapter and the discussion in Chapter V herein.

[4]For a comprehensive review of these studies, see Tannen (1982).

[5]Chafe's data consist of four types of discourse: (1) informal spoken (dinnertable conversations): (2) formal spoken (lectures); (3) informal written (letters); (4) formal written (academic papers). In his later works (1986, Chafe and Danielewicz 1985), more emphasis is given to interaction in the communicative situation with the differences between the spoken and written modes.

[6]Both extremes are rare. Ochs, therefore, prefers to use the terms 'relatively planned' and 'relatively unplanned' discourse.

[7]Enkvist (1982) prefers to use the term 'impromptu' speech. He disregards 'unplanned' for reasons discussed in the text. 'Spontaneous' discourse carries "undesirable overtones" (11); for Enkvist, "there is impromptu speech which does not arise spontaneously but may be elicited from a speaker, or even extorted from him against his will" (ibid). The term 'unrehearsed' would come close to Enkvist's concept of 'impromptuness'.

[8]"A text or part of one has a long planning span if it can be planned in advance and produced according to plan and without interference" (Enkvist 1982:14) (e.g. lectures or interviews). "Degree of macrostructurual boundness" refers to the template texts that comprise a great deal of everyday conversation. As examples Enkvist mentions the doctor-patient interview, classroom dialogue,

and openings and closings of a telephone conversation.

[9]This view is generally represented in the literature. Enkvist and Björklund (1986), for example, speak about the constraints of "on-line language processing in real time" which are not present in the written mode of communication. Svartvik (1982) states that "...speech is produced, processed, and perceived under conditions which are radically different from those of writing and thus bound to result in a different linguistic organization of information." (131)

[10]Casual spoken language is produced in short spurts which Chafe calls "idea units" (1982, Chafe and Danielewicz 1985), or "intonation units" (1986). Chafe uses three criteria in defining idea units: intonation, pausing, and syntax. They have "a single, coherent intonation contour," they are "followed by a pause," and they are "likely to be a single clause" (Chafe and Danielewicz 1985:19). The idea unit is characterized as "a focus of consciousness" (ibid.) which refers to the limited amount of knowledge that the speaker can focus on and activate <u>in consciousness</u> at any one time.

[11]The limitations of focal consciousness also have consequences for syntax: "the syntax of idea units must be kept fairly simple ... attempts to achieve any very high degree of syntactic complexity are likely to cause trouble ..." (Chafe and Danielewicz 1985:19). However, see the discussion in Beaman (1984) on the "syntactic complexity" of spoken language. She points out that opinions in this respect differ considerably. For instance, Halliday (1979, cited in Beaman) concludes that "spoken language is on the whole more complex than written language in its grammar; and informal spontaneous conversation ... is the most grammatically complex of all" (46). Beaman seems to take an intermediate position: "... the basic assumptions of many linguists in the past, i.e. that written language is more complex than spoken because it contains more subordinate and dependent structures, is too simplistic an assumption" (ibid.). She continues: "the differences between spoken and written language ... may be more a result of differences in the formality and purpose of the discourse than in a spoken/written distinction" (ibid.).

[12]In the enormous cognitive effort of selecting the most appropriate lexical choices from a large repertoire, speakers are clearly at a disadvantage in comparison with writers. Speakers have little time to select their words, and they cannot overtly revise their production too extensively, since "too much fumbling is harmful to effective communication" (Chafe and Danielewicz 1985:7). In fact, "the way we choose words and phrases in speaking and the way

we choose them in writing are not the same processes at all" (Chafe and Danielewicz 1985:6). L2 learners in formal institutional environments face additional difficulties in speaking (see discussion in Hüllen 1982).

The procedures of teaching favour a speech performance in which finding of semantic concepts and communicative intentions is not the decision of learners, but is predetermined for them by the teacher, the textbook or other determinants. Frequently, even the choice of lexical and syntactic means for an utterance is limited by gradation. This prevents learners from scanning their linguistic resources when planning speech (Hüllen 1982:215).

[13]Time constraints in speaking also affect the degree of explicitness: "speakers are aware of their limitations in choosing lexical items which adequately convey what they have in mind" (Chafe and Danielewicz 1985:8). The extensive use of hedges and vagueness, in general, are results of this awareness.

[14]Schank and Schoenthal do not define 'anacolutha'. Use of the term here seems to be associated with what Enkvist (1985) calls "the wide sense" of the term, i.e. "any structure deviating from some standard of well-formedness" (2). See also endnote 42.

[15]Abtönungspartikeln are defined by Weydt (1969) as "unflektierbare Wörtchen, die dazu dienen, die Stellung des Sprechers zum Gesagten zu kennzeichnen." (cited in Schank and Schoenthal 1976:9). Examples from German would be ja, denn, immerhin (Henne and Rehbock 1982). Gliederungssignale, according to Henne and Rehbock (1982), are "bestätigungsheischende und informationsverstärkende Partikeln wie ne, nich, nicht, nicht wahr, wa, gell, ja, woll" (26).

[16]'Fluency' is used here only to refer to spoken language. A similar position is adopted by e.g. Faerch et al. (1984). Some authors, for instance Gumperz et al. (1984), apply the term 'fluency' also to writing: "Cohesiveness of produced text is an intuitive measure of fluency for both writing and speech" (9).

[17]In operational terms, 'fluency' is defined by Leeson (1975) as "the ability of the speaker to produce indefinitely many sentences conforming to the phonological, syntactic, and semantic exigencies of a given natural language on the basis of a finite exposure to a finite corpus of that language" (136).

[18]Sajavaara and Lehtonen (1978) point out, however, the relationship of the use of discourse markers to the general problem of redundancy and emphasize the importance of these markers for information processing.

[19]Fillmore (1979) implies related considerations in his tentative 'typology' of fluency: for example, one type of fluency would be "the ability to talk at length with few pauses, the ability to fill time with talk" (93): another, "the ability to talk in coherent, reasoned, and semantically dense sentences" (ibid.). Speakers of the latter type do not "fill discourse with lots of semantically empty material" (ibid.).

[20]See note 18. Faerch and Kasper (1982), among others, use the term 'gambits' for various discourse markers. The primary function of these linguistic items is, according to the above authors, to regulate and maintain discourse, for instance, by distributing turns and marking discourse boundaries, as well as by establishing coherence within and between turns of speech.

[21]'Fluency' has often been understood to refer only to periods of relative speech continuity, as opposed to 'non-fluent' periods. (Sajavaara and Lehtonen 1978)

[22]See further references in Schegloff et al. (1977). Single discussions on correction phenomena appeared also before in Europe as a result of the growing interest for spoken language in the 1960's. See also Section 3.3 for discussion of 'anacolutha'.

[23]Other organization mechanisms of conversational interaction are turn-taking and sequential organization (Sachs et al. 1974). Repairs have been found to be part of the overall turn structure (e.g. Stewner-Manzanares 1983).

[24]Sachs et al. (1974) make a distinction between everyday conversations and other speech-exchange systems. Interviews, for instance, do not count in their framework as conversations; they are characterized as "instances of talk in interaction" (Schegloff, personal communication).

[25]Two types of other-repairs occur: 'modulated' and 'unmodulated' (Schegloff et al. 1977). Modulated other-repairs (e.g. of the type 'y'mean') are more common. Unmodulated other-repairs occur in specific environments only, for instance, after an appeal for a correction, or after an unsuccessful modulated other-repair.

[26]The data base of Faerch and Kasper (1982) originates from an extensive corpus of learner language (the "PIF Corpus"), both written and spoken. A total of 123 Danish learners of English from different proficiency levels participated in the project. The spoken texts consist of 20 minutes of videotaped conversations between a native speaker of English and a corresponding L2 learner

of approximately the same age. The conversations can be characterized as informal in that no predetermined topics or interactional roles were given. However, as noted by Holmen et al. (1981), the initiative typically remained with the native speaker, which made the interactions rather interview-like. For a more detailed description of the PIF Corpus, see for example Faerch et al. (1984).

[27]By 'other-monitoring', Faerch and Kasper (1982; Faerch et al. 1984) mean the speaker following the reactions of his listener(s).

[28]The authors distinguish two fundamentally different behavior patterns of learners when they encounter problems in communication: avoidance, and confronting. The 'reducers' renounce their communicative goal; tho 'achievers' attempt to maintain their original goal. For further discussion see for example Faerch and Kasper (1983a; 1984). See also the discussion in Raupach (1980) on 'avoidance strategies' and their relationship to language proficiency and L2 learning experiences.

[29]Face-saving plays, according to Faerch and Kasper (1982), an important role at the advanced level, where "the learners might be more reluctant to admit ignorance by initiating a repair from their native interlocutor" (94). This was particularly apparent in their data with the university student who did not appeal for help even in a case of incomprehension. For a more detailed discussion of facework in relation to other-repairs see Lauerbach 1982.

[30]Grade 10, science line of a "Gymnasium".

[31]The teacher's repair behavior is included in the analysis as well. The preferred pattern was self-initiated and self-completed repairs. The majority of the teacher's self-repairs were pedagogically motivated (e.g. for securing comprehension or teaching vocabulary). A high frequency of teachers' self-repairs is seen by Kasper as a potential hindrance for L2 learners in developing and practicing efficient ways of communication. This includes, for example, the ability to infer, and to initiate other-repairs appropriately.

[32]'Delegated repairs' do have pedagogical value in that they help the learners to participate actively in the task solution (Kasper 1985) and to make "the problem-solving process transparent to all the learners" in order to achieve the maximum learning effect" (ibid).

[33]Faerch and Kasper (1982) illustrate this with an example: in I found my-er-screwdriver in the basement, screwdriver is not an

instance of self-repair but the result of a communication strategy. In I found my-er-what do you call it - for putting screws into the wall - screwdriver, the same word is, in their framework, a self-repair (in addition to being a communication strategy).

[34]Kasper (1985) does not give an exact number of her subjects. The observations are based on a lesson in a "Gymnasium" class, the size of which may vary.

[35]Note, however, that foreign language teaching does not, in general, breed "correctors" (see Hüllen 1982:216, also discussion in Section 4).

[36]See for example Clark and Clark (1977) on the planning and execution of discourse; also Faerch and Kasper 1983c for a speech production model.

[37]The focus on correctness is the exclusive domain of the "monitor" according to Krashen (e.g. 1982), who limits monitoring to "learned" aspects of language only. For the monitor to operate, three conditions must be present: (1) time; (2) focus on form; and (3) knowledge of the rule. Thus, written communication and prepared speech are likely to be subject to monitoring. Naturally occurring conversations, on the other hand, do not focus on formal aspects, and are, according to Krashen, unmonitored.

[38]Hüllen (1982) discusses the distinction in regard to common foreign language teaching: "the teaching practice ... seems to breed 'planners'. ... However, 'corrected' speech is much more redundant than 'planned' speech, which means that the former is more easily understood" (216).

[39]Communication strategies can be broadly defined as "attempts to solve problems in communication" (Faerch and Kasper 1982:81).

[40]Stedje's study (1985) is part of a larger project on communication strategies which focuses on the search for content words (nouns, verbs, adjectives and some adverbs) in two groups: foreign language learners and anomic aphasics. The L2 learner data in Stedje's above work consists of 40 Swedish adults learning German at a Swedish university. According to the level of proficiency of the learners, Stedje divides them into two broad categories: learners with "quite good oral proficiency," and learners with "rather limited or poor oral proficiency" (1). In her experiment, the learners communicated with one partner, the test leader, on two subsequent occasions. The first part of the test was a monologue in connection with three tasks (the description of a picture, a picture story task, and the retelling of a well-known story). The second

part was a dialogue with the test leader about the difficulties in speaking German in the first part of the test, about problems in finding words, etc.

[41]Fathman (1980) studied repair behavior of young L2 learners of English. She identifies the following types of corrections in her data: (1) phonological; (2) morphological; (3) syntactic; (4) semantic; and (5) lexical. The corrections were further classified into categories of omission, addition, substitution/replacement, and re-ordering.

[42]One dictionary definition of 'Anacoluthon' is:

> a sudden change in the originally planned (regular) sentence construction during the production of the sentence as a result of unplanned speech. ... Anacolutha are considered to be the result of corrections in intention during the speech process, or as mutual contamination of two different constructions (Lexikon der Sprachwissenschaften 1983:28, translation by LSL).

[43]Works involving repairs in German, either of native speakers or of L2 learners, are rare. The only one reported in native speech is the study by Ramge (1973). Investigating spontaneous self-repairs of six-year-old schoolchildren, Ramge found repairs to occur at all levels of grammar (phonological, morphosyntactic, and semantic components). The children in his data showed an evolved language consciousness: repairs were aimed at appropriateness both in form and content.

[44]According to Dietrich (1982), morphological repairs are infrequent in the German of foreign workers.

[45]Suggestions in this regard have also been made for the teaching of native language. For instance, Ramge (1973), who studied self-repairs of German schoolchildren, proposes conscious development of their self-repairing activity.

[46]Hüllen (1983) notes that in classroom discourse "communicative rules, as defined by speech act theory, lose their validity. The same happens to conversational postulates, so that almost everything can be said as long as it is correct" (147).

[47]Note, hovewer, that repairs, as well as the influence of the interviewer's behavior on the interviewee's discourse are now among the topics discussed in the ACTFL Oral Proficiency Interview. Tester Training Manual 1989.

III. THE PROCEDURE

3.0 Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the procedure adopted in pursuit of the goals of the present research. For the description of repair phenomena a system was developed which can be applied to the comparison of impromptu speech produced by L2 learners at different levels of proficiency.

The following discussion covers a rationale for the selection of the corpus, a description of the collection and composition of the corpus, the communication partners ("students" and "interviewers"), and the procedure for elicitation of the data. Some of the problems related to collection of the database are pointed out. The method of analysis is also dealt with in this chapter, including transcription of the data. Finally, the basic conceptual framework and the alterations needed for the present research are discussed.

3.1 The Corpus

3.1.1 Rationale for the Selection

There are several reasons for selecting oral proficiency interviews as a database for the observation of self-repairs in L2 discourse. First, with interviews the communicative situation

itself can be controlled. Second, the elicitation method and the external circumstances are, by and large, uniform.[1] Third, the evaluation of the oral proficiency of the L2 learners is based, according to uniform criteria, on their performance in that particular communicative situation. Finally, these interviews are especially suitable for the observations of L2 learner ability to self-repair, since there is a tacitly understood rule in the oral proficiency interview that the interviewer will be making very few other-repairs.[2]

The reasons for selecting the ACTFL/ETS oral proficiency interview are also manifold. First, the ACTFL/ETS interview assesses the students' foreign language proficiency in terms of their "ability to function effectively in the language in real life contexts" (Higgs 1984:12). Therefore, by definition, the evaluation of foreign language speaking ability is based on communicative criteria. Second, "the real life context" into which these tests are embedded is a conversation--"the most common use of language" (Schegloff et al. 1977:381).[3] Third, the oral proficiency of the students is described in the ACTFL/ETS criteria as sequential stages of language performance. It could therefore be expected that this testing structure would allow for observations about repairs at different levels of proficiency. Fourth, the ACTFL/ETS proficiency test is specifically geared to the needs of college-level learners, the population that is the focus of this study. And finally, since 1978

the ACTFL/ETS testing procedure has had a broad and rapidly increasing impact on foreign language instruction, curriculum design, and proficiency-testing in the United States (see e.g. Liskin-Gasparro 1984).[4] Similar tests of oral proficiency are also being developed in Europe and elsewhere.[5]

3.1.2 Collection and General Description of the Data

The data base consists of 30 audiotaped oral proficiency interviews of adult L2 learners of German. During the 1984-85 academic year a total of 45 students at Georgetown University were interviewed and their oral proficiency determined. The students were learners of German from different courses and schools of the University, and they participated in the interviews voluntarily. The interviews were conducted by two native speakers of German who also made the recordings. The elicitation procedure used in these interviews followed the format of the Oral Proficiency Test of the American Council on Teaching Foreign Languages/Educational Testing Service (ACTFL/ETS). The proficiency levels of the students were established by the interviewers according to the ACTFL/ETS criteria (see endnote 8 for the criteria used in the evaluation of the interviews). Subsequently, another rater examined the data. From the 45 interviews, 30 were used in the present study. One of the interviews was eliminated by the second rater, who considered it an "unratable sample" by ACTFL/ETS standards.[6] Another 14 of the interviews had to

be eliminated either because information about the students' background was lacking or else because the recording had technical defects.

The research focused on the levels of proficiency that college students can reasonably be expected to achieve during their years of second-language study at the university. According to the ACTFL/ETS criteria, the levels correspond to Intermediate High, Advanced, and possibly Advanced +[7]. In the present study, attention has been given to the levels Intermediate, Advanced, and Superior.[8] At the lowest level in the ACTFL/ETS classification, i.e. Novice, the students are rated as having "no functional proficiency," and this level was excluded from the analysis. The Intermediate level is divided in the ACTFL/ETS classification into Low, Mid, and High. At this level the students start to "create" with the language, but in the lower range of this level their ability to conduct lengthier discourse is still limited. The most advanced category in the ACTFL/ETS classification, Superior, was also included in the analysis for purposes of comparison. This level, however, is rarely reached within a regular college curriculum; the speakers assigned to it in the ACTFL/ETS classification generally have a special biographical background (Liskin-Gasparro 1984).

The 30 interviews analyzed in the present study had the following distribution of proficiency levels:

Intermediate	
Intermediate Low	1
Intermediate Mid	5
Intermediate High	7
TOTAL	13
Advanced	
Advanced	8
Advanced +	4
TOTAL	12
Superior	
TOTAL	5

3.1.3 The Communication Partners

3.1.3.1 Students

The interviewees ("students"), 12 males and 18 females, were all enrolled at Georgetown University. All were native speakers of English. One of the students was British, the others were Americans of varying ethnic backgrounds.[9] Their ages ranged from 18 to 37. Information was obtained, orally and/or through a questionnaire, about their linguistic and family background as well as about how they had learned German, i.e. in a formal setting (school or equivalent) and/or elsewhere. This information was kept for future reference but was not included in the formal analysis of the data. All students had taken German language courses for at least two semesters at Georgetown University. 13 of them were German majors and 17 had German as one of their minors. The students gave their consent to being tape-recorded and, later, to the use of the data for research purposes. At the time of the interviews neither the interviewers nor the students were aware of the aspects of their

discourse to be studied later. The interviewers were not the students' teachers (except in 7 cases of former students of Interviewer 1), and the interviews did not have any bearing on the students' grades. The students were volunteers. In view of these conditions, it was expected that communication between the interlocutors would be less constrained than in a normal test situation.[10]

3.1.3.2 Interviewers

The two interviewers ("Interviewer 1" and "Interviewer 2") had much in common: they were both native speakers and teachers of German. Both were females of about the same age, married to Americans, and had lived in the United States for several years. On the other hand, there were differences, among other things, in their experience as interviewers and in their "conversational style" (Tannen 1984). Interviewer 1 had considerable previous experience in oral proficiency testing with systems other than ACTFL/ETS, whereas Interviewer 2 was less experienced in this area. Within the ACTFL/ETS system, however, their training and experience were, to a great part, comparable. The interviews to be studied in this research were recorded either during the training program of these interviewers, or--as in the case of Interviewer 1 (10 interviews)--shortly after the program. As to the "conversational styles" of the interviewers, it can be inferred from the data that Interviewer 1

was slightly more brisk in the interaction than Interviewer 2. These individual differences, together with other personal and contextual factors, may have affected the repair behavior of the students in varying degrees. However, it is beyond the scope of the present study to investigate this influence. There is enough uniformity in the elicitation procedure itself and in the circumstances in which the interviews were conducted to provide a reliable basis for comparison of the students' performances during the interview. The fact that the interviewers themselves were being "tested" (in 20 cases out of 30 interviews) may have contributed to their careful observance of the ACTFL/ETS instructions, both in their own behavior and in the elicitation procedure.

3.1.4 The ACTFL/ETS Oral Proficiency Interview

3.1.4.1 The ACTFL/ETS OPI: Background

The ACTFL/ETS oral proficiency interview was originally based on the so-called "oral interview" of the U.S. Foreign Service Institute (FSI). The FSI testing system was started in the 1950's and it soon became the "best known oral test in the United States" (Krashen and Terrell 1983). The ACTFL/ETS version was introduced in modified form in the late 1970's. Today there are considerable differences between the FSI and ACTFL/ETS systems. Beginning with the target group, the FSI interviews were--and are--aimed at testing the oral proficiency of U.S. government officials. The ACTFL/ETS

interviews, on the other hand, test the oral proficiency of students in secondary schools and colleges. (No restrictions exist, however, on using the tests in other contests as well.) Certain modifications in the original FSI interview were necessary when the system was adapted for academic purposes, mainly in the criteria for the assessment of oral proficiency and in the procedure for the interviews (for further discussion, see e.g. Liskin-Gasparro 1984). There is, however, no restrictions to use ACTFL tests in other than academic contexts as well. The FSI oral examination has undergone revisions, and the interview is now, for instance, only part of a larger examination for oral proficiency.[11]

3.1.4.2 The ACTFL/ETS Interviewing Process: General Features

Usually only two participants are present in an ACTFL/ETS interview--the interviewer and the interviewee--as opposed to three in the FSI interview. During a period of about 15 to 20 minutes these communication partners engage in a dialogue in which, for the most part, the interviewer asks questions and the interviewee responds. Frequently a role-play situation is included in the interview which changes the original role configuration (interviewer-interviewee) but still features, in most cases, the interviewer as the initiator of the interaction. Usually the interviewer is able

to establish the level of proficiency in 15 to 20 minutes. In problematic cases, or at the Superior level, more time is often needed (ETS Oral Proficiency Testing Manual 1982:14). The interviewer does not take notes during the interview (cf. FSI practice, endnote 10) but tape-recording is common: it is done for purposes of subsequent rating or for documentation.

3.1.4.3 ACTFL/ETS OPI The Interview Structure

The ACTFL/ETS interview is a highly structured speech event, even though in the ideal case it is supposed to sound like a casual conversation, i.e. relaxed and natural (ETS Oral Proficiency Testing Manual 1982:60). Each interview consists of four steps: Warm-Up, Level Checks, Probes, and Wind-Down. The Level Check and Probing phases provide the most decisive indications of the proficiency level (ETS Oral Proficiency Testing Manual 1982:63). The Level Check phases should establish "the highest level at which the candidate can sustain a speaking performance" (ibid:64). The Probing phases should test and eventually confirm the highest level that can be attained, though not necessarily sustained. The interviewees are considered to have reached their uppermost limit of proficiency when their performance begins to show "linguistic breakdowns" such as increase in grammatical errors, disfluency, and groping for words (ibid:65). The characteristic difference between the two phases is that "the Level Check gives evidence of what candidates can do" and

"the Probes show what candidates cannot do" (ibid:65). The Warm-Up and Wind-Down phases, respectively, give a preliminary indication and final confirmation of the level of proficiency. These phases also have a psychological function in that they put the interviewees at ease and, at the end of the interview, leave them "with a feeling of accomplishment" (ibid:66). Within the general structure, any topics can be discussed. In principle the interviewer should cover as broad a range of topics as possible. At the same time, the instruction is to avoid topics that seem to be too familiar to the interviewee.

3.1.4.4 ACTFL/ETS OPI: Principles for Rating

The ACTFL/ETC oral proficiency interview is designed to be an integrative test, i.e. it is intended to measure "overall speaking performance" (ETS Oral Proficiency Testing Manual 1982:21). The ratings should be primarily holistic. However, the raters are instructed to pay attention to several factors that are considered to be constitutive for "overall speaking performance." These are, in general, the functions that the interviewee is able to perform, the context in which these functions occur, and the accuracy with which the functions are carried out (ibid:21). More specifically, the overall impression of the performance is considered to be affected by the following linguistic factors: pronunciation, vocabulary, grammar, fluency, and sociolinguistic factors (ibid: 15, 31-33).

The performance of students can differ considerably in these aspects. In order to preserve the holistic perspective, the principle is adopted that "two candidates can give quite different performances and still be at the same level" (ibid:20).

3.1.5 Problems Related to Collection of the Data

Several problems emerged in the process of collecting the data for the present study.

For the reasons given in 3.1.1 above, the elicitation procedure in the ACTFL/ETS oral interview was chosen as the one best suited to the purposes of the present research. Certain difficulties arose from this decision. Since the ACTFL/ETS oral proficiency testing system is relatively new, not many testers could be found in the Washington, D.C., area. Of the two testers who were available, neither was able to conduct the large number of interviews needed for the present study. However, Interviewer 1 had previously recorded several of her interviews and offered them as material for this research. Interviewer 2 was doing oral proficiency interviews at the time the study was being planned and allowed her material to be used in the research. In this way it was possible to collect the 45 interviews. Still, it should be kept in mind that the data were originally recorded by the interviewers for purposes other than the present study, i.e. for subsequent rating and documentation, and not for discourse analysis.

The fact that the data were collected in the foregoing circumstances was reflected in the quality of the recordings. Various kinds of minor disturbances occurred in the course of the interviews. For example, a telephone would ring or someone would come into the room. (Both interviewers used the facilities of Georgetown University, either an office--Interviewer 1, or a small conference room--Interviewer 2. Interviewer 1 used a tape recorder with a separate microphone, Interviewer 2 had a tape recorder with a built-in microphone. During the interview the recorder was placed on the table between the communication partners.) The disturbances would occasionally interrupt the interlocutors' speech or make it inaudible. However, by and large the quality of the recordings was acceptable, and adequate transcription for purposes of the present study was possible in most cases.

Another difficulty relative to the recording was that most of the tapes of Interviewer 1 lacked the very beginning of the conversation. These gaps had consequences for the analysis, which are discussed in Section 3.3.6 below.[12]

Still another problem connected with recording and transcribing the discourse was that of overlapping speech. Even though overlaps may be considerably less frequent in oral proficiency interviews than, say, in ordinary conversation (the interviewers are instructed not to interrupt), they did occur in the data on several occasions. In these cases the interviewee's speech was often un-

clear or inaudible. Thus, some of the data were lost. The problem of capturing simultaneous speech might be dealt with by using a tape recorder with separate tracks for each interlocutor. On the other hand, sophisticated recording techniques of this kind would require the use of clip-on microphones that might intimidate the interviewee even more than is already the case with a simple tape recorder.

There was also the question of background information about the students. Even though this information was not included in the formal analysis, I decided to gather it for purposes of future reference. Background information on the students is not required for the ATCFL/ETS oral proficiency interviews. Years of L2 study, stay abroad, etc. do not affect the rating. What is tested is the interviewee's "current foreign language proficiency" (ETS Oral Proficiency Testing Manual 1982:2), independent of how it is achieved. However, Interviewer 1 had designed a questionnaire which was filled out by 10 of the students. For another 20 of the students it was possible to gather the necessary information orally, either in person or by telephone. On these occasions other questions relating to the interview were also asked, such as whether the students were conscious of their correction activities, what they did when they encountered linguistic problems, etc. Still, the interval between the interviews and these de-briefings was too variable: it ranged from a few hours after the inter-

view to as much as a year. In any case, the use of introspection as a source of information in other than an anecdotal sense has been excluded from this study.

Yet another point about the data is that they consist of audiotapes only. It is possible that some relevant information was lost by not having videotapes of the interaction. Undoubtedly a successful outcome in an oral proficiency interview is the result of a "joint venture" on the part of the participants in which their nonverbal behavior plays a significant role. In the case of repairs, for instance, there are already indications from certain studies (e.g. Schwartz 1980: Erickson 1985) that repair behavior may often be triggered by nonverbal behavior on the part of the listener. In the present study, however, emphasis is on linguistic description of the data, and the necessary inferences can be drawn from the verbal data alone. Tannen (1984), for example, notes that "information lost from nonverbal channels, such as facial expressions, gestures, and body movements, is rarely totally different from that preserved in the speech channel. Rather, it reinforces the messages communicated through language" (36). Other experienced discourse analysts have expressed similar views. Kallmeyer (personal communication), for instance, points out that videotapes in most cases only confirm what the researcher has already concluded on the base of the audiotapes. Labov and Fanshel (1977) state that

"the primary data for the listener are the words being spoken by the other parties, and whatever interpretation he constructs will be based on them" (21). These authors also point out that "the problem of presenting [video tape or film] and interpreting the rich visual field has not yet been solved to anyone's satisfaction" (7). In addition, the use of videotape may cause more anxiety for the interviewee.

3.2 Analysis of the Data

3.2.1 Method of Analysis

3.2.1.1. Transcription of the Data

As the first step in the analysis, the recorded data were transcribed. The transcription of the entire corpus, 30 interviews of about 20 minutes each, i.e. approximately 10 hours of spoken discourse, was an immense task. Nevertheless, I decided to include the entire interview and not only a portion of it in the analysis, in order to be able to look at repairs, within one person's performance and in comparison with others, in the context of the whole discourse.

Selection of a transcription system was guided by the goals of the present research. Given the structural framework, it was important that the transcription provide clear information about

structure shifts and their signals. This included the registration of interruptions in speech flow, such as pauses, repetitions, hesitations (e.g. filled pauses), and also paralinguistic features (e.g. laughing or coughing). Since no accurate phonological analysis was aimed at, a rather broad transcription, in standard orthography, was considered sufficient for the purpose (see Ochs 1979b for further discussion). The transcript convention that best seemed to correspond to the interests of this research was that of Tannen (1984). For the present study, I modified her system slightly (see Appendix I for the symbols used in this study). For instance, pauses (+) were registered in the transcript but not measured. The exact duration of the pauses was not felt to add insights for the present study.[13] Also, the prosodic notation system was simplified to include only those prosodic features that were considered particularly informative for my study of the repairs in the data, e.g. intonation, or emphatic stress.[14] No phonetic symbols have been used to represent segmental material. For instance, variations of the neutral vowel [ə] which occur in the data in connection with hesitations have generally been marked with uh. If another vowel quality has been clearly distinguishable, it has been registered (e.g. ah or oh). Certain reductions of spoken language (e.g. of the final [ə] in ich hab) as well as certain idiosyncrasies (e.g. ik instead of ich) have been noted.

Another researcher, a native speaker of German, rechecked parts of the transcriptions. English-speaking informants were consulted in problems related to that language. However, it should be remembered that a transcript--even in the most elaborate form--is an "artifact" and cannot recreate all the specific details that constitute an utterance (Tannen 1984). Despite the care taken in transcribing the present data, I often had to resort to the original recording for clarification in attempting to determine the category in ambiguous instances of repair.[15]

3.3 The Basic Conceptual Framework

As stated previously, researchers have used the term "repairs" to refer to a variety of concepts (see Chapters I and II). For the present study I have adopted a perspective shared by Faerch and Kasper (e.g. 1982) and Enkvist and Björklund (1986) in which repairs are studied from the standpoint of their structural implications for the discourse. Enkvist and Björklund's processual view of repairs as structure shift captures the dynamics of speech production and was seen to offer a promising starting point for the analysis of my data. I have taken their taxonomy of structure shifts as a guide in the preliminary classification of the data.

Enkvist and Björklund's approach is functional. The underlying assumption in their work is that speakers exercise options

from different systems in expressing their intended meanings. In organizing language into a text and in formulating utterances, they make choices. In so doing, they introduce structures into discourse. However, during the course of speech a structure that they have begun may be abandoned--consciously or unconsciously--for various reasons. Enkvist and Björklund (1986) attribute this abandonment to either the speaker's inability to continue, or else, based on monitoring, a decision to reject the structure. The devices that speakers use to abandon and shift to another structure are referred to by Enkvist and Björklund as "structure shifts". According to these authors, structure shifts are used for a purpose. They are "integral parts of spoken communication and discourse which help speakers to maintain cohesion and coherence and to adapt their text to the requirements of receptors and situations" (1986:1).

The following section summarizes the basic principles of Enkvist and Björklund's taxonomy of structure shifts. Following that, the taxonomy is discussed in the light of the present research.

3.3.1 Enkvist and Björklund (1986): Taxonomy of Structure Shifts

Enkvist and Björklund define structure shifts as "all types of correction or improvement in which the speaker leaves a structure uncompleted and either abandons it altogether or shifts to another structure" (1986:1). The authors identify in their data of spoken

English (academic native speakers: informal conversation) two basic types of functions performed by the speakers when they shift structures: corrections and improvements (or "meliorations"--Enkvist 1985). Enkvist and Björklund distinguish five categories within these two main types:

(1) Correction

(2) Improvement

(3) Insertion

(4) Abandon

(5) Anacoluthon

All but the first of these five types correspond to "improving" functions. There is also a sixth category, "confused shifts", for cases in which the shift or the speaker's intention seems to be unclear.

(1) Corrections are used by speakers to correct what they perceive to be an error in their speech. A correction consists, in its most complete form, of the following six components: pre-corrigendum, corrigendum, post-corrigendum, pre-correction, correction, and post-correction (see Figure 2 on the following page).

Different combinations of these components--or only the correction alone--may be used in speech. Corrections occur at the phonological, morphological, lexical, and syntactic levels.

(2) Improvements do not involve an error but rather "an addition of an equally correct, but otherwise more appropriate,

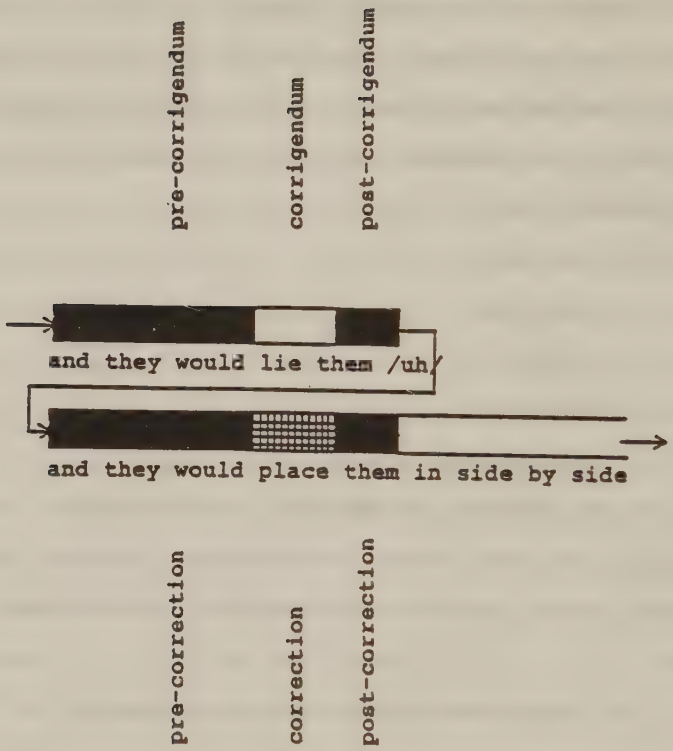

Figure 2. Correction

unequivocal or emphatic version or expression" (14). Enkvist and Björklund illustrate this category with the following example:

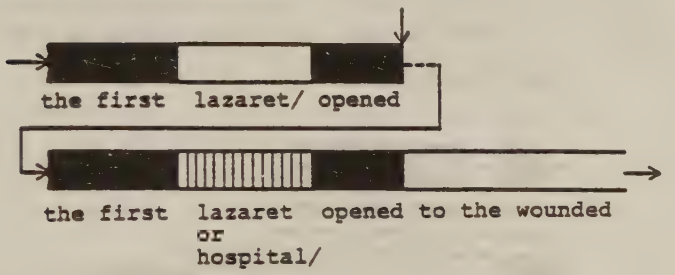

Figure 3. Improvement

(3) Insertions are structure shifts in which "a construction is interrupted, another construction inserted, and the first construction then returned to, continued, and completed" (15). Three types of insertions are identified:

(a) insertion with congruous continuation;

(b) insertion with repetition;

(c) insertion with incongruous continuation.

The following illustrations of each type are given by Enkvist and Björklund:

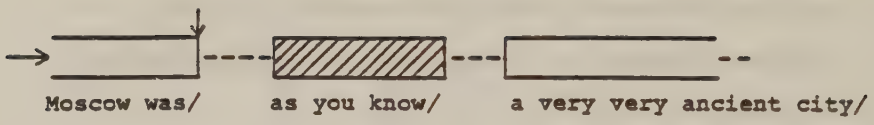

Figure 4. Insertion with congruous continuation

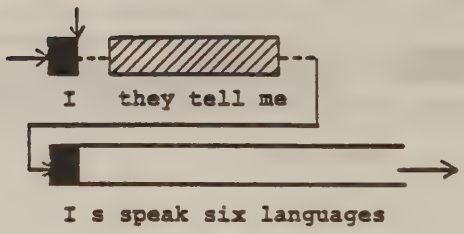

Figure 5. Insertion with repetition

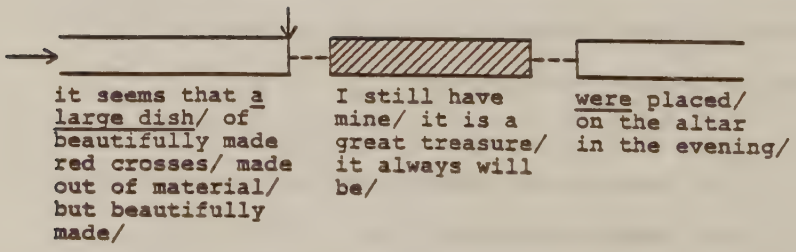
it seems that a large dish/ of beautifully made red crosses/ made out of material/ but beautifully made/
I still have mine/ it is a great treasure/ it always will be/
were placed/ on the altar in the evening/

Figure 6. Insertion with incongruous continuation.

(4) In abandon, the speaker interrupts a structure, leaves it unfinished, and shifts to a totally different structure. Enkvist and Björklund picture this category as follows:

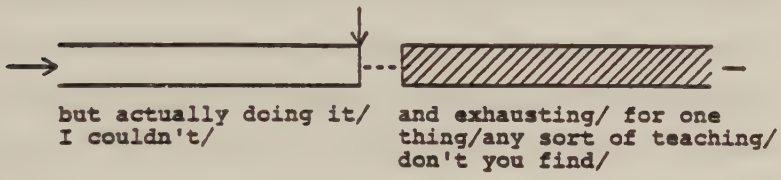

Figure 7. Abandon

(5) Anacoluthon (or "true anacoluthon"; Enkvist 1985) is defined by Enkvist and Björklund as a structure shift where "pre-shift and post-shift structures contain a shared overlap area" (20). Their example:

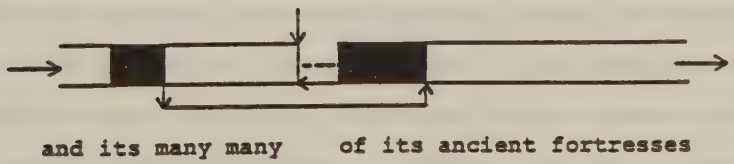

Figure 8. Anacoluthon

These, then, are the categories as presented by Enkvist and Björklund. The next section discusses their application to the data in the present research.

3.3.2 Application of the Taxonomy of Enkvist and Björklund (1986) to the Present Research

Enkvist and Björklund's taxonomy was used in the preliminary classification of the present data. However, it became obvious in the course of the analysis that, due to the different nature of the research data (native speakers of English vs. L2 learners of German), certain modifications and some fine-tuning of the taxonomy were necessary. Also, some terminological clarifications and alterations had to be made.

3.3.3 Terminological Specifications

For my purposes, there are a few points of terminology that need to be refined. First, Enkvist and Björklund (1986) do not explicitly define what they mean by 'structure'. The underlying paradigm and the taxonomy indicate, however, that 'structure' is used in accordance with the functionalist tradition to refer to relations on the syntagmatic axis.[16] 'Structure shifts', then, cover sequential changes in the flow of speech at all linguistic levels. It is in this sense that I use the term 'structure' in the present research.

Second, use of the term 'improvement' in the present work in connection with L2 learner repairs is ambigious. (As mentioned earlier, Enkvist and Björklund distinguish two main types of functions of repairs in their native speech data: "corrections" and "improve-

ments". At the same time, "improvement" refers to a specific category (2) in their classification.) An "improvement" from the speaker's point of view may not necessarily be one from the listener's point of view. For L2 speakers, repairs may often be "emergency exits"--manifestations of communication strategies. In other words, they are "improvements" only in the sense of saving face and not totally failing in the communication. Also, repairs in L2 learner discourse are often, from the prescriptive standpoint, not "corrections" or even "improvements" but rather "disimprovements" (Dietrich's "Verschlimmbesserungen", 1982). Nevertheless, in terms of the two main functions of repairs, a pre-study of the present data confirmed that this correction/improvement division also applies to L2 learner discourse.

Thus, in the present research, I have decided to use the terms code-related repairs and discourse-related repairs to refer to the "correction" and "improvement" functions, respectively. The categories of discourse-related repairs have been considerably changed in my adaptation of the framework which will be discussed in the following section.

3.3.4 Fine-tuning of the Taxonomy

For purposes of the present research, further refinement of the taxonomy was found to be necessary. In the category of code-related repairs (Enkvist and Björklund's "corrections"), I decided

to retain the subdivision into phonological, morphological, lexical and syntactic repairs. For my research I defined the scope of these repairs more explicitly. I also decided to set up additional sub-categories .

In the category of discourse-related repairs, considerable changes were made both conceptually and terminologically.

3.3.5 The Modified Taxonomy and Definitions of the Categories

The final taxonomy used in the analysis of the data was the following:

I CODE-RELATED REPAIRS
- (1) Phonological
- (2) Morphological
- (3) Lexical
- (4) Syntactic

II DISCOURSE-RELATED REPAIRS
- (1) Amendment
- (2) Elaboration
- (3) Abandon

The scope of these categories was defined as follows:

I CODE-RELATED REPAIRS

Code-related repairs are corrections of perceived departures from the prescribed or learned aspects of the L2 code.[17]

(1) Phonological repair. This category refers to correction of perceived errors in pronunciation.

(a) ***nei nato** (4-20-39)

(b) **kusinen *kusengs** (4-10-47)

(c) **literatyr literatur**(3-7-31)

(d) **fur uh für weltliche studierung** (25-2-49)

(e) **hohe + höhe fieber** (22-7-23)

(f) **konzert + kon + konservativen** (4-18-35)

(g) **bestäftigt sisch beschäftigt sich** (14-5-17)

(2) Morphological repair. Morphological repairs refer to corrections of perceived errors in word form, i.e. inflexional and derivational alterations. These include, for instance: gender, number, case, mood, tense. (See Appendix III for a complete list of the subcategories.)

(a) **für das den haushalt**(2-2-45)

for the household

(b) **eine ein schwester** (25-2-39)

a sister

(c) **freund_ freunden** (27-3-35)

friends

(d) **die: [click] die krieg_ kriege: die kriegen** (25-4-31)

the wars

(e) **sie gefallen mich + uh uh mir** (12-3-23)

they satisfy me

(f) **ich kann ich könnte ihnen raten**(18-5-9)

I can-- I could advise you

(g) **nach ich dieser mediziner + ge genommen habe fühle ich mich fühlte ich mich viel besser.** (22-8-3)

after I took the medicine I feel I felt much better.

(3) Lexical repair. In a lexical repair, the speaker provides a word perceived to be more appropriate. Here again subcategories such as code switch, correction, and search, were distinguished:

(a) **das *airconditioning das + kühles uh luft** (23-8-27)

[German equivalent]

(b) **einem avokat [laugh] wie sa uh *lawyer**(10-4-41)

[English equivalent]

(c) **auf einem fall feld** (23-7-15)

on a fel- field

(d) **die vorlesung gehört + anzuhört** (22-9-39)

heard + listened to a lecture

(e) **der spiel ist in uh + ist nimmt in uh + venice statt** (9-8-17)

the play is in uh + is + takes place in uh + venice

(f) **die amerikanischen [slight hesitation] die: vereinigten staaten sind nicht stark genug + um total unabhängig zu bleiben** (1-19-39)

the american [slight hesitation] the: United States is not strong enough + to remain totally independent

In some cases, the lexical repairs could be subject to more than one interpretation. In other words, they could be considered discourse-related rather than code-related repairs. However, in this study, all lexical repairs are classified as code-related repairs.

(4) Syntactic repair. This category refers to corrections in syntactic structure. I distinguished five subcategories: Agreement, Word Order, Other Structure Change, Anacoluthon, and Other. The following examples illustrate the syntactic category:

(a) **weil für mich das: das architektur hier ist hier besser ist** (27-2-43)

because I think the: the architecture here is here better is

(b) **als mir es + als es mir einfiel** (12-6-7)

as to me it + as it occured to me

(c) **victor hugo mag ich besonders also ich mag den nicht besonders** (9-6-19)

I particularly like victor hugo-- I mean I don't particularly like him

I also included in this category instances of anacoluthon which in Enkvist and Björklund's classification were considered

rather as "improvements" than "corrections." In my adaptation of the framework I have taken them to relate more to the speaker's inability to handle the syntactic structure than to production of the message itself. Structurally, I have interpreted anacoluthon in the sense of "true anacoluthon" as used by Enkvist (1984--see discussion in Chapter II, Section 2.3.3).

(a) **und man wird dann die die beste gruppe die also am besten mimickiert oder so [lower] win gewinnt dann** (9-13-19)

and they will then-- the best group-- that best mimicks so to say-- then wins

(b) **und dann uh bin ich während: meinem programm in trier habe ich so heidelberg gesehen** (6-5-5)

and then I was-- during my program in trier-- I saw heidelberg

II DISCOURSE-RELATED REPAIRS

Discourse-related repairs have to do with the formulation of the message throughout the text. Self-repairs, in general, show "speakers' sensitivity to their own production of discourse" (Schiffrin 1987:78).[18] Discourse-related repairs, in particular, give evidence of speakers' efforts to formulate the message in ways appropriate to the requirements of the interlocutor and the communicative situation. Instead of focusing on the code, as is the case with code-related repairs (e.g. replacement of a single lexical item, or correction of word order), discourse-related repairs focus

on the message. This is apparent, for instance, in the speakers' efforts to specify or comment on their utterance, or parts of it, or in their efforts to reformulate the message. Based on the changes that the speakers introduce in the formal structure of the language while focusing on the message, I have distinguished three main categories: Amendment, Elaboration, and Abandon.

(1) Amendment. This category involves incomplete constructions which are being amended or reformulated by the speaker in one way or another in order to carry out the message. The initial structure is interrupted and replaced by another structure. Either the direction of the same message continues, or else there is a shift in the direction of the developing discourse (for the latter type, see Schiffrin 1987). The following examples illustrate instances of an amendment:

(a) I: **welchen eindruck haben sie von trier? finden sie es gut dass man das program in trier hat?**
S: **ja für einen sommer ist es gut. es ist nicht zu + es ist ganz + es ist ein bisschen für mich zu klein.** (6-5-35)

I: what is your impression of trier? do you think it's good that we have this program in trier?
S: well for one summer it's ok. it s not too + it's rather + it's a little bit too small for me.

(b) I: **was haben sie da [at home, with friends] getan?**
S: **wir haben: uh über: verschiedene sachen ump uh: t gesprochen. ein mann der uh guter freund von mir ist ist: [click] uh also er + er f + glaubt an uh:: d die sachen die + uh karl marx geschrieben hat** (14-7-11)

I: what did you do [at home, with friends]?
S: we uhm talked: uh about: different things uhm uh: a man who uh good friend of mine is is: [click] uh well he + he f + believes in uh: t the things that + uh karl marx wrote

(c) I: **wir haben uns heute diesen film angesehen. ich weiss sie haben noch keine zeit darüber**
S: **[ja]**
I: **nachzudenken aber wenn ich sie jetzt ganz kurz um eine reaktion bitten würde was ist ihnen aufgefallen?**
S: **das hat mich sehr beeindruckt weil + ich + man spricht immer von + von hitler und + von der nazizeit und es war sein [sigh] das ist ein + ja ein altes thema jetzt** (1-12-33)

I: today we saw this film. I know you haven't had any time yet to think about it. but if I were to ask
S: [yes]
I: you very briefly about a reaction. what struck you about it?
S: it impressed me very much because + I + people always talk about + about hitler and + about the nazi time and it was his [sigh] it is a + well an old topic now

(d) I: [talking about nazi era] **das war doch am anfang an sich nicht militärisch. es wurde allmählich immer militärischer.**
S: **[nein. also + es gab immer da + die verbindung + uh zum + zum deutschen leben dass es + das IST deutschland. die ganze idee + uh: + der: des vaterlandes.** (1-14-13)

I: [talking about nazi era] but at the beginning it wasn't actually military. it became more and more military.
S: [no. I mean + there was always + the link + with + with life in germany that it + that IS Germany. the idea + uh: of the: the fatherland.

(e) I: **wo in österreich waren sie denn?**
S: **ich war in graz. ist ist + eine südöstlicher eine ein uh es ist der zwei zweitgrösste stadt in österreich.** (15-1-41)

I: where were you in Austria then?
S: I was in Graz. is + is + a southeastern a a uh it is the second second largest city in Austria.

Under Amendment I have also included changes that are related more directly than others to the pragmatic aspects of language. This group consists of discourse-motivated tense changes, word-order changes that are not code-related, changes in the degree of definiteness, shifts in speaker orientation to the test. The following are examples of these amendments:

(a) [talking about experiences with the war] **und meine eltern auch nicht obwohl sie + [squeak] während des krieges jung waren aber + dass sie hier waren und + kann man nicht sagen dass + dass meine eltern gestorben sin + waren oder + ich habe keine persönliche erfahrung damit.** (1-12-13)

[talking about experiences with the war] nor do my parents even though they + [squeak] were young during the war but + that they were here and + I can't say that + my parents are + were killed or + I don't have any personal experience with it.

(b) **es gibt und es gibt auf einem berg gab es dieses festigung** (15-4-29)

there is and there is on a mountain there was the castle

(c) **uh ja ich studiere d + an die an dieser universität studiere vier jahre. uh + ich hab auch + paar an + and andere universitäten studiert** (12-1-15)

well I study t + at the at this university I study four years. uh + I also studied + couple of oth- + oth- + other universities

(d) **ein + der vollkommene bürger** (1-8-49)

a + the perfect citizen

(e) **also wir sp + wir sprachen + sehr wenig davon + zu hause. vielleicht weil er ich glaube dass er ein bisschen schuldge: + gefühl hatte** (1-16-37)

so we sp + we spoke + very little about it + at home. possibly because he-- I think he felt a little bit guil- guilty

2) Elaboration. This category consists of expansions of the message, either inserted within it or appended. It includes both insertions into the structure and afterthoughts, even if no structure shift is present, as long as the elaboration seems to be indicated by the speaker as a repair to the preceding structure.[19]

I have not established any further subcategories for elaborations. My prestudy of the data showed that the speakers performed functions that could be characterized as giving background information, commenting, exemplifying, specifying. Schiffrin (1987), similarly, speaks of "background repairs" which "provide information to modify and/or supplement hearer's understanding of surrounding material" (300).

Examples of elaboration:

(a) **ich war + vor ich in georgetown gekommen bin ich war in florida** (22-2-11)

I was + before I came to Georgetown I was in Florida

(b) **es ist ein: community college und man + [click] es ist das ist eine ein + eine art universität [breath] ah in dem nicht nur akademische sachen lernen kann sondern auch--** (14-5-27)

it is a: community college and people + [click] it is it is a a + a kind of university [breath] ah where one can learn not only academic subjects but also--

(c) **meine mutter kommt wieder zurück in einem in ein oder zwei monaten** (15-6-21)

my mother comes back in one in a couple of months

(d) **dann: kann man also es kommt darauf an ob's ein damen oder männerrad ist aber beim damenrad da könnte man also** (2-4-47)

then: one can well it depends whether it's a girls' bicycle or a boys' bicycle but with a girls' bicycle one could then

(e) **und wenn + dann ist es sehr + uh grammatik + grammatikerweise ist nicht sehr gut** (20-5-29)

and if + then it is very + uh grammarianwise it's not very good

(f) **deutsche + jüngere + junge deutsche interessieren sich + mehr für + für kultur für politik** (5-11-13)

germans + younger + young germans are more interested in + in culture in politics

(3) Abandon. In contrast to the category of Amendment, in which the message is being reformulated by the speaker, the message is here abandoned by the speaker. The speaker interrupts himself, for one reason or another, and does not continue either the structure or the message. The repair thus consists, structurally, of a zero element in terms of replacement in the previous structure, followed by a totally new structure. Typical examples are:

(a) **ich weiss dinge um cia und + sie sind uh + n ich habe nichts uh + uh dagegen dass--** (18-2-5)

I know something about CIA and + they are uh + n I don't have anything against that uh + uh that--

(b) **aber + dass die frauen + ja + doch ich sehe viele probleme** [laugh] (8-6-13)

but + that the women + well + but I can see many problems

The oral proficiency interview itself, or the interviewer's nonverbal behavior, may have caused the abandon in the following examples:

(a) **es kommt nicht von wieviel geld ich bekomme und + uh ICH MEINE DAS** (21-7-31)

it does not depend on how much money I get and + uh I MEAN THAT

(b) **die russen haben keine: kein lieb für die deutschen uh wo [laugh] zum beispiel uh [cough] un und uh + uh + es hm tja + uh i ich weiss nicht was--** (25-5-23)

the Russians have no: no love for the Germans uh where [laugh] for instance uh [cough] an and + uh + uh + it hm hm + uh I I don't know what--

Abandons in which the speaker apparently has assumed comprehension on the part of the listener do not count in my framework as instances of repair. L2 learners occasionally omit words or expressions as a result of lexical problems. If the problem is not manifested in the data as a repair, it has not been included in the analysis.

3.3.6 Exclusions from the Analysis

Given the conceptual framework of the present study, I have focused only on those constructions which a speaker interrupts and alters in some way. Parts of the data were thus excluded from the analysis. Among them were typical spoken language phenomena such as

hesitations (e.g. uh) and repetitions. They were excluded when no structure shift was involved. Topicalization, or left-dislocation, was also excluded since it was taken to be a typical spoken language phenomenon. Potential lexical searches (e.g. in form of stretching) were excluded if in the data they were not associated with a structure shift. However, paraphrasing and afterthoughts, if they were repairs in terms of content, were included even if they were expressed in separate structures. Inconsistencies, e.g. in use of the article, were excluded if they were not explicitly corrected. Isolated sound segments and word fragments that were ambiguous were not considered. And finally, any passages at all that were unclear, even if a repair may have been involved, were excluded from the analysis.

3.3.7. Conversational Structure

In some respects the structure of conversation in the oral proficiency interview is relatively predictable. Turns, for instance, are preallocated: the general turn structure consists, in most cases, of the interviewer's questions and the interviewee's responses (Sachs et al. 1974; Stewner-Manzanares 1983). Furthermore, the organization of the turns in interviews implies that the content of the second turn (the response) is prespecified and the content options of the interviewee are thus constrained (Stewner-Manzanares 1983:85). Since an analysis of the conversational struc-

ture of an oral proficiency interview was not the purpose of the study, I felt that such an analysis of my data in terms of conversational structure was not appropriate.

However, I will be applying some related terms in the discussion of the data. Thus, the term 'turn' will be used to refer both to the opportunity to be the speaker ('one's turn to speak') and to what the speaker says during his turn (see Edmondson 1981:7). The term 'topic' will be used nontechnically for 'what is being talked about'.[20]

As to the structure of the oral proficiency interview itself, opening and closing sections as well as the role-play passages were excluded from the analysis. As discussed in Section 3.1.5, a few tapes lacked the greetings and/or the opening question of the interviewer. Also, a few tapes lacked the very end of the conversation. Even if the answers of the interviewees, complete or incomplete, occasionally contained repairs, only complete question-answer sequences were considered in the analysis. The role-plays were excluded from the analysis to ensure comparability: in the first place, programmed role-plays did not occur in every interview. Second, unlike the rest of the interview, there was a difference in the communicative situation itself and in the various factors involved.[21]

3.3.8 The Unit of Analysis

The segmentation of spoken discourse into relevant units for the purposes of classification is a problematic issue even in an analysis of native speech. Recently, there has been extensive investigation of "natural units" in speech processing and production, i.e. units which "appear to be intended by the speaker to be taken together" (Brown and Yule 1983:157). Various terms, such as information unit (first introduced by Halliday 1967)[22], idea unit (Chafe e.g. 1982); Chafe and Danielewicz 1985), intonation unit (Chafe 1986), and tone unit (Svartvik 1982) have been proposed. The underlying assumption in all these works has been that speakers present their intended message in chunks or units. These units are realized in speech through prosody, and they may or may not coincide with grammatical structures such as phrases, clauses, or sentences (see e.g. Brown and Yule 1983:153ff.; also Svartvik 1982:136ff. for further discussion). Halliday, for instance, has adopted intonation as almost the sole criterion for the definition of his information unit. Other researchers, however, have found problems with identification based on prosodic criteria alone. This is the case particularly with unplanned spontaneous speech (Brown and Yule 1983:158). Chafe in his later work resorts to three criteria for identifying his "idea units" or "intonation units" in casual spoken discourse: intonation, pausing, and syntax. Thus the units have "a single, coherent intonation contour," they are "followed by a pau-

se," and they are "likely to be a single clause" (Chafe and Danielewicz 1985:19).

In learner language the identification of a relevant unit for analysis becomes even more complex. The use of phonological criteria is increasingly difficult due to instability in the intonational patterns of L2 learners. Similarily; the distribution of pauses in learner discourse is unpredictable.[23] Syntactic criteria seem to be the most consistent for this type of data.

For the foregoing reasons, and in view of the conceptual framework of the present study, I decided to adopt a syntactically based unit for my analysis. I felt that the most useful unit would be the macrosyntagm as introduced by Loman and Jörgensen (1971) in their research on spoken language. Macrosyntagm is defined by these authors as "a word sequence of maximum length relative to the internal syntactic relations of the units that are included therein" (ibid:18, translation by LSL). In other words, a macrosyntagm is a syntactic segment of maximal extension. The concept thus includes any syntactic unit from an interjection to a complete sentence with several subordinate clauses.[24] Of all the above concepts, I found the macrosyntagm to be the most applicable to my type of spoken data.

Different forms of the macrosyntagm may be seen in the following examples:

(a) **ich bin in eine uh deutsche uh deutschen [emph. adj. ending] kinderschule gegangen jeder samstag uh + für zwei jahren.** (15-1-21)

I went to a uh german uh german kindergarten every sunday uh + for two years.

(2) **er hat gesagt dass er versucht uh versuchen wird uh + die + uh + die wachstum + das wachstum uh: der militarische? + *spending uh zu verhindern.** (10-10-11)

he said that he would try uh will try uh to prevent uh + the + uh + the growth + the growth uh: the military? + *spending.

(3) **aber für uh drei jahren war es g fast gar nichts weil es war in der hochschule in florida.** (23-1-31)

but for uh three years it wasn't h- hardly anything because it was in high school in florida.

(4) **also ich hab die stadt hat mir hat mir gut gefallen.** (9-1-49)

well the city pleased I liked the city.

(5) **weil ich habe freunde ich habe einen freund der in regensburg wohnt.** (17-2-3)

because I have friends I have one friend who lives in regensburg.

(6) **seit september oder + besser gesagt + vielleicht fünf monaten + also ein semester ein und halb + ein halb sem [swallows] semester.** (13-3-1)

since september or + rather + perhaps five months + I mean one semester one and a half + a half semester [swallows] semesters.

In addition to the question of the most relevant unit to be adopted for the analysis, still another question emerged in the process of deciding on the unit, i.e. whether or not the entire corpus should be segmented into units from the beginning of the analysis. A preliminary investigation of the data indicated that there were both interconstituent repairs (e.g. certain morphologi-

cal repairs) and repairs associated with the larger discourse. If this was to be the case, it seemed more useful to try to identify the repairs first without imposing a unit on the data. As the second step, the unit--macrosyntagm in my case--would then be applied when a larger stretch of coherent discourse appeared to be involved. My decision was that it would only be invoked when reference to it was required in order to explain the functions underlying the particular repair under study.

ENDNOTES FOR CHAPTER III

[1]It has to be kept in mind, however, that even if the external circumstances in interviews are controlled, every interview is a unique speech event, and the interviews are not a uniform sample of discourse (Saari 1975:51).

[2]Of course, compared with ordinary conversation between native speakers, this limit on other-repairs is artificial.

[3]It will be remembered, however, that for Schegloff interviews are not conversations but "instances of talk in interaction" (personal communication). Other researchers also distinguish between conversations and interviews. Edmondson and House (1981), for instance, define conversation as "any stretch of talk which involves two or more speakers, and in which what is said is more or less unprepared, and not overtly pre-determined in terms of topic or procedure" (35). For ACTFL/ETS, the term 'conversation' is less exclusive. One reads, for example, in the ETS Oral Proficiency Testing Manual (1982) that "a well-structured oral proficiency interview tests speaking ability in a real-life language contest--a conversation. It is almost by definition a valid measure of speaking ability" (13). I consider oral proficiency interviews to be a particular type of a communicative situation that can either develop into an 'interview' or approximate a 'conversation'. For this reason, I have used 'conversation' in this work in a very broad sense to refer to the verbal interaction in general between the two participants (cf. discussion in Stenström 1984:11 for different types of talk and a definition of conversation).

[4]In addition to the oral proficiency exams, tests to assess proficiency in listening, reading, and writing are currently being developed by ACTFL.

[5]Several European countries, including Finland, have now developed oral proficiency examinations that feature an oral interview. Other components such as role-play, picture-telling, etc. are often included in the oral exam.

[6]In this case, the "unratable sample" referred to the quantity and quality of the material: not enough speech with varying functions and topics was considered to be present for the other rater to establish the final rating. (See e.g. ETS Oral Proficiency Testing Manual 1982:60 for a discussion on "unratable samples".)

[7]Liskin-Gasparro (1984), for instance, reports on a study ("The Carroll study" 1967) conducted with college majors of French, German, Russian, and Spanish in the second semester of their senior

year. Typical rating in oral interviews of these students was 2 or 2+ (ILR) which corresponds to Advanced and Advanced+ in ACTFL/ETS. As for the proficiency ratings of non-language majors in American colleges, a realistic expectation after a required sequence of two years of L2 studies (if a college has a language requirement) would, according to experienced foreign language teachers, be Intermediate Mid-Intermediate High (ATCFL/ETS).

[8]ACTFL revises its oral proficiency guidelines regularly. The oral proficiency interviews analyzed in the present study were evaluated by the interviewers according to the criteria valid in 1984-85. Thus, speakers at the proficiency level of **Intermediate Low** were "**able to satisfy basic survival needs and minimum courtesy requirements**. In areas of immediate need or on very familiar topics, can ask and answer simple questions, initiate and respond to simple statements, and maintain very simple face-to-face conversations.---Almost every utterance contains fractured syntax and other grammatical errors. Vocabulary inadequate to express anything but the most elementary needs" (ETS Oral Proficiency Testing Manual 1982:165). Speakers at the proficiency level of **Intermediate Mid** were "**able to satisfy some survival needs and some limited social demands**. Some evidence of grammatical accuracy in basic constructions---. Vocabulary permits discussion of topics beyond basic survival needs, e.g. personal history, leisure time activities, is able to formulate some questions when asked to do so" (ibid.). Speakers at the proficiency level of **Intermediate High** were "**able to satisfy some survival needs and limited social demands**" (ibid.:166). They show "spontaneity in language production but fluency is very uneven. Can initiate and sustain a general conversation but has little understanding of the social conventions of conversation.---Cannot sustain coherent structures in longer utterances or unfamiliar situations.---Extended discourse is largely a series of short, discrete utterances.---Still has to repeat utterances frequently to be understood by the general public" (ibid.:166). Speakers at the proficiency level of **Advanced** were "**able to satisfy routine social demands and limited work requirements**. Can handle with confidence but not with facility most social situations including introductions and casual conversations about current events, as well as work, family, and autobiographical information, can handle limited work requirements, needing help in handling any complications or difficulties. Has a speaking vocabulary sufficient to respond simply with some circumlocutions---can usually handle elementary constructions quite accurately but does not have thorough or confident control of the grammar" (ibid.). Speakers at the proficiency level of **Advanced Plus** were "**able to satisfy most work requirements and show some ability to communicate on concrete topics relating to particular interests and special fields of competence**" (ibid.). They often show "remarkable fluency

and ease of speech, but under tension or pressure language may break down.---Normally controls general vocabulary with some groping for everyday vocabulary still evident" (ibid.). **All performance above Advanced Plus** was rated as **Superior**. In this study, Superior includes both the Superior and the Advanced + level. The Superior group was small, and the differences in performance between the groups were minor.

[9]It could be gathered from the questionnaires, interviews and discussions with the students that their ethnic backgrounds were highly variable. In a few cases the family origin was German: grand-parents, mother or father, or both parents. But such family origins as Italian, Ukranian, French, and Lebanese were also represented among the students.

[10]Labov and Fanshel (1977), for example, point out that "examinations given in school, test questions, and classroom quizzes are all kinds of interviews that produce very limited and constrained types of verbal response from the client" (31). It has to be noted, however, that even less formal interaction between native speakers and non-native speakers is likely to create apprehension for the latter. The "communication apprehension" (Lehtonen 1984) related to speaking in general seems to be common not only for "silent Finns" (Lehtonen and Sajavaara 1985) but also for Americans. Every fifth American, according to studies reported by Lehtonen (1984), has serious speech-related apprehensions. In a Finnish study (Manninen 1984, cited in Lehtonen 1984) of apprehension in Finnish students when speaking English, one in six students was found to be considerably apprehensive when using the foreign language. In the present research it could often be inferred from the data that the students were apprehensive in varying degrees. Several students also confirmed their apprehension in later discussions. Even a fluent speaker at the Superior level (#1) said that "one is always a little bit apprehensive in these kinds of situations.

[11]The FSI oral proficiency exam consists, in its current form, of a short conversation (warm-up) between the native speaker and the examinee, an interview (the examinee asks the native speaker questions), and a briefing (the examinee delivers a short oral presentation and responds to questions and comments). Two raters are present at the examination: a tester, a native speaker of the language to be tested, and a certified examiner. The former poses most of the questions, while the latter takes notes and participates only occasionally in the conversation. After the exam, the raters confer in order to reach a decision on the proficiency level of the examinee. (FSI-Oral Proficiency Testing at the Foreign Service Institute, 1986)

of the examinee. (FSI-Oral Proficiency Testing at the Foreign Service Institute, 1986)

[12]The fact that the recordings were not started immediately at the beginning of the interview may also have had a discomforting effect on the students. One of them, for instance, reported later orally that switching on the tape recorder after the Warm-Up was like an overt signal that "now the interview really begins." Paradoxically, the ETS Oral Proficiency Testing Manual (1982:17) recommends this practice in order to put nervous students more at ease.

[13]See e.g. Tiittula (1985) for a discussion about problems related to pause-measuring in discourse analysis.

[14]In case of intonation, for instance, a broad indication of the general intonation contour, when applicable, was considered sufficient for the purposes of the present study. For problems related to the transcription of intonation in general, see, for example, Labov and Fanshel (1977). These authors state, among other things, that "even the best trained American linguists did not agree ... on their transcription of the four-step system of pitch levels. Many linguists now use the typographical devices introduced by Bolinger which simply follow the rise and fall of the voice in an impressionistic manner ..." (43).

[15]See Appendix II: Examples of oral proficiency interviews from my corpus. The author has the total set of interviews which can be made available on request.

[16]N.E. Enkvist personally confirmed my assumptions in this respect. For further discussion on functionalism, see Vasconcellos (1985).

[17]Code is seen here as referring to the elements of the linguistic system of L2.

[18]Sensitivity is also shown even if no ability to repair is there, e.g. embarrassed laughter at the lower level in akward instances. See discussion in Chapter IV.

[19]See Halliday (1985): Elaboration with other logico-semantic relationships is not limited to any structural manifestation such as a clause complex but rather represents "basic semantic motifs that run throughout the language as a whole" (202).

[20]Edmondson (1981), for example, uses topic in this sense.

[21]See Edmondson and House (1981) for a discussion of pedagogically recommendable role-plays.

[22]The notion of information unit was first introduced by Halliday 1967. For further discussion on Halliday s concept, see e.g. Vasconcellos (1985).

[23]See Faerch et al. (1984) for further discussion.

[24]Macrosyntagm, as a concept, is similar to Halliday's clause. Halliday defines a clause as "the non-embedded clause together with all clauses embedded within it" (1967:201).

IV. THE RESULTS

4.0 Introduction

Two main types of repairs were distinguished in the classification of the present data: (1) code-related, and (2) discourse-related repairs. Code-related repairs were defined as corrections of perceived departure from the prescribed or learned aspects of L2 code. Discourse-related repairs were defined as changes in formulation of the message with regard to the test as a whole. Both types of repairs were expected to occur in L2 learner data in varying degrees depending on the proficiency levels of the speakers. Based on the implications to be gleaned from a few previous studies (see Chapter I, Section 2), and a pre-study in L2 learner data, it was hypothesized that the proportion of discourse-related repairs relative to the total number of repairs would differ according to the speaker's level of proficiency. An increase in the use of discourse-related repairs was expected with increasing proficiency. It was also hypothesized that the proportion of code-related repairs relative to the total number of repairs would differ by proficiency level.

To test the hypothesis and find answers to the additional questions, a quantitative analysis was performed. The qualitative analysis is incorporated in the discussion of the results.

4.1. Quantitative Analysis of the Data

The total number of repairs considered in the analysis was 1,326. Of this total, 57.4% (761) were code-related and 42.6% (565) discourse-related repairs.

In order to statistically verify the central tendencies in the occurance of code- or discourse-related repairs at the different levels of proficiency, means were calculated for the two main types and for each subtype of repair. A comparison of the means confirmed that there was a tendency for L2 learners to use more discourse-related repairs as their level of proficiency increased.

Table 1. Discourse-related repairs

Level	N	Mean	Standard deviation
INTERMEDIATE	13	11.615	9.376
ADVANCED	8	21.875	16.039
SUPERIOR*	9	26.555	20.464

*In the present analysis = Superior and Advanced +

For the code-related repairs, comparison of the proficiency levels showed a curvelinear relationship: the average number of repairs increased from the Intermediate to the Advanced level and then decreased from the Advanced to the Superior level.

Table 2. Code-related repairs

Level	N	Mean	Standard deviation
INTERMEDIATE	13	23.769	8.247
ADVANCED	8	30.375	11.927
SUPERIOR*	9	23.111	20.464

*In the present analysis = Superior and Advanced +

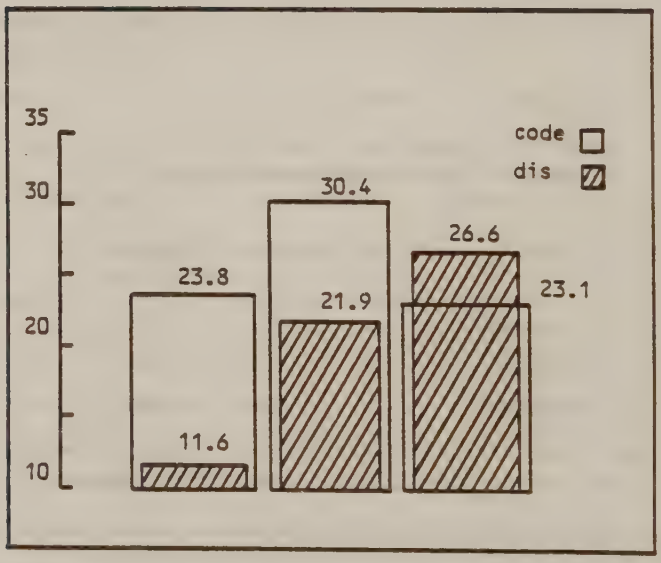

Figure 9. Code- and discourse-related repairs:

Comparison of means[1]

Within the principal subtypes of code-related repairs, a curvelinear relationship similar to that for the overall average of code-related repairs was observable in the morphological, lexical, and syntactic categories with regard to the levels of proficiency. In other words, the general trend for these three categories was an increase in the average number of repairs from the Intermediate level to the Advanced level and then a decrease of the mean at the Superior level. Comparison of proficiency levels in terms of the mean for the three subcategories, however, showed some interesting differences between the categories. The highest average of code-related repairs at the Advanced and Superior levels was in the lexical category. The mean for these repairs was also high at the Intermediate level--only slightly lower than for morphological repairs. The most striking difference between the levels of proficiency was found in the morphological category, where speakers at the Superior level, on the average, tended to make considerably fewer repairs of this kind than did those at the Intermediate and Advanced levels. In the syntactic category, the mean difference between the proficiency levels was less marked. Relative to the only existing study on repairs of L2 learners of German, that of Dietrich (1982) on morphological self-repairs, these findings give a broader picture of repair activity in L2 learners. According to Dietrich, "häufige Selbstkorrekturen von Genus, Kasus, Numerus, Modus, usw. [sind] charakteristisch für das fremdsprachliche Deutsch

von Studierenden" (frequent self-corrections of gender, case, number, mood, etc. are characteristic for L2 learners of German at the college level) (1982:129). Even if morphological repairs may be more frequent among college students of German than in some other type of population (cf. Dietrich 1982:129) on foreign workers in Germany), Dietrich's statement is oversimplified. The findings of the present study suggest that: (1) the occurrence of morphological repairs in L2 learner data also depends on the proficiency level of the L2 learners, and (2) lexical problems are more prominent than morphological ones at the Advanced and Superior levels, and nearly equally prominent at the Intermediate level--at least if measured by the average occurrence of self-repairs.

The phonological subcategory of code-related repairs deviated from the curvelinear pattern in that the L2 learners at the Superior level made, on the average, more phonological repairs than did those at either the Intermediate of the Advanced level. The lowest mean for the phonological repairs was found at the Advanced level.

A comparison of the means for code-related repairs at each of the levels is shown in Table 3.

The histograms in Figures 10-14 illustrate the general trends in each subcategory of code-related repairs.

Table 3.

Phonological, morphological, syntactic and lexical repairs: Means and standard deviation

Variable	Mean			Standard deviation		
	INT	ADV	SUP	INT	ADV	SUP
Phonological	1.461	1.250	2.666	1.664	0.707	2.397
Morphological	9.769	11.125	6.111	4.023	5.111	5.206
Syntactic	3.538	4.500	4.222	1.983	3.162	2.333
Lexical	9.000	13.500	10.111	4.760	7.289	5.946

Number of speakers: Intermediate = 13; Advanced = 8; Superior = 9

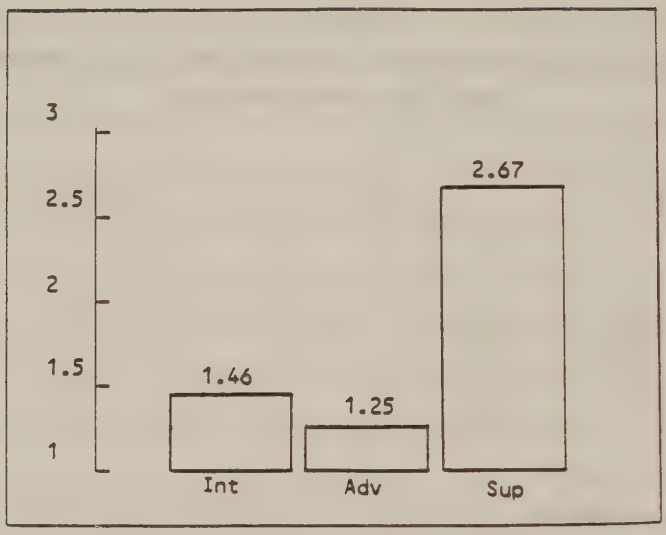

Figure 10. Phonological repairs: Comparison of means

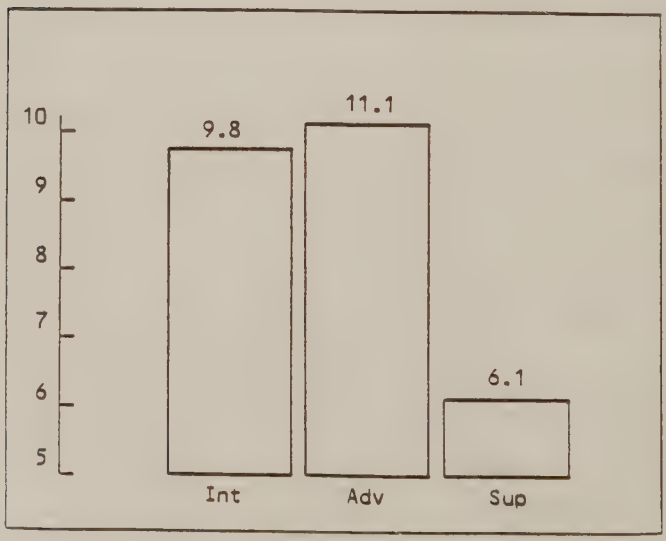

Figure 11. Morphological repairs: Comparison of means

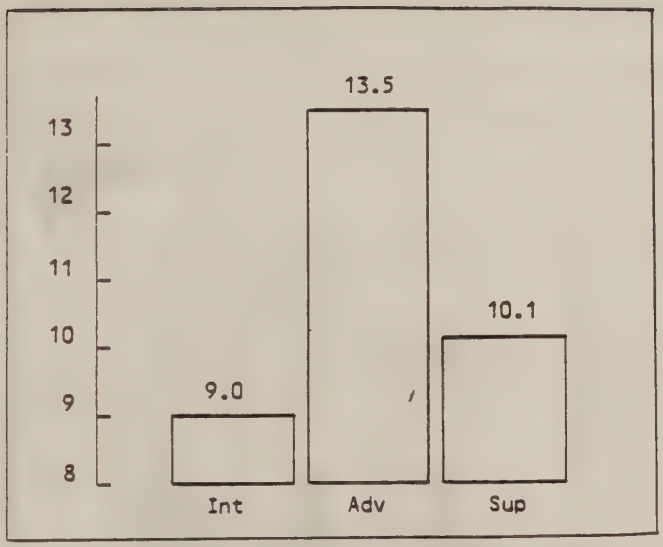

Figure 12. Lexical repairs: Comparison of means

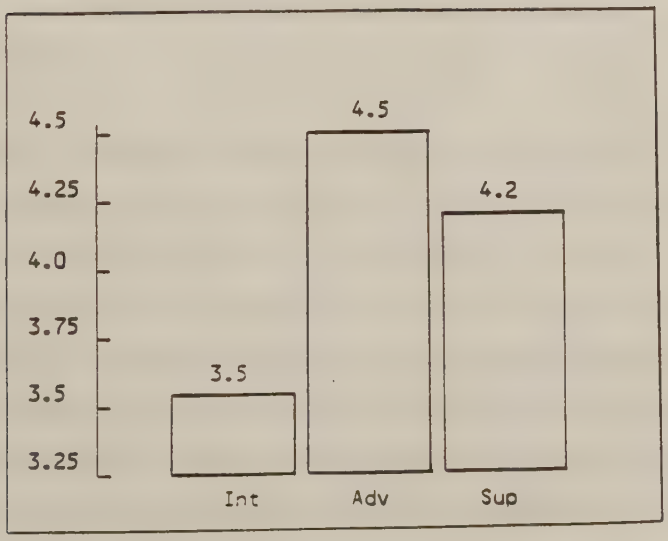

Figure 13. Syntactic repairs: Comparison of means

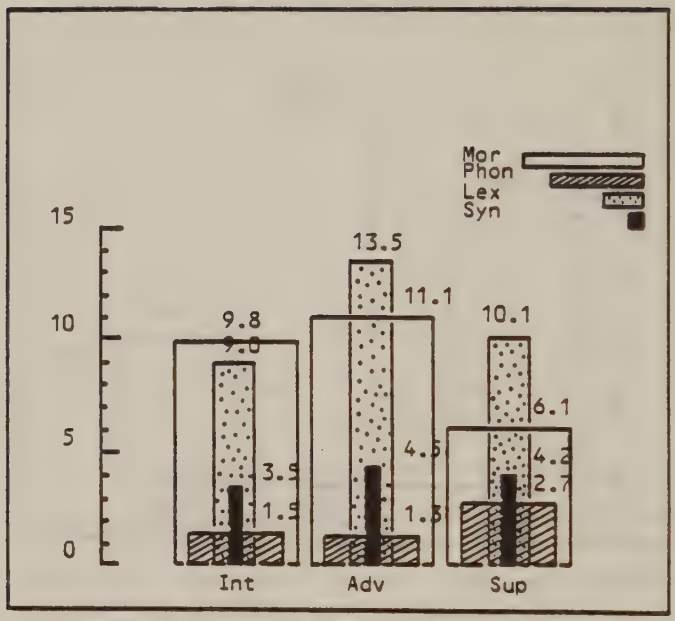

Figure 14. Code-related repairs (combined): Comparison of means

An analysis of variance (ANOVA) was carried out to test the main hypothesis, i.e. that the proportion of discourse-related repairs relative to the total number of repairs differs according to level of proficiency. The ANOVA showed that the proportion of discourse-related repairs (DISPROP) relative to the total number of repairs was not the same at each of the three levels of proficiency. Between the Intermediate and Advanced levels, and between the Advanced and the Superior, there were no significant differences in

the proportion of discourse-related repairs. Between the Intermediate and the Superior levels, however, the difference in the proportion of discourse-related repairs was statistically significant at the 0.05 level ($p < 0.05$).[2]

Table 4. ANOVA: Comparison of discourse-related repairs (DISPROP) between proficiency levels

Level comparison	Simultaneous lower confidence limit	Difference between means	Simultaneous upper confidence limit	
Superior-Advanced	-0.09613	0.11932	0.33478	
Superior-Intermed	0.03977	0.23205	0.42432	***
Advanced-Superior	-0.33478	-0.11932	0.09613	
Advanced-Intermed	0.08653	0.11272	0.31197	
Intermed-Superior	-0.42432	-0.23205	-0.03977	***
Intermed-Advanced	-0.31197	-0.11272	0.08653	

Comparisons significant at the .05 level are indicated by ***

As for the code-related repairs, one subtype, morphological repairs, turned out to relate to the proficiency levels in much the same way as the DISPROP had done. In other words, the proportion of morphological repairs (MORPROP) over the total number of repairs differed according to the level of proficiency. The proportion of morphological repairs between the Intermediate and the Superior level was found to be significantly different ($p < 0.05$).

Table 5. ANOVA: Comparison of morphological repairs (MORPROP) between proficiency levels

Level comparison	Simultaneous lower confidence limit	Difference between means	Simultaneous upper confidence limit	
Intermed-Advanced	-0.05188	0.07415	0.20018	
Intermed-Superior	0.05540	0.17702	0.29864	***
Advanced-Intermed	-0.20018	-0.07415	0.05188	
Advanced-Superior	-0.03341	0.10287	0.23916	
Superior-Intermed	-0.29864	-0.17702	-0.05540	***
Superior-Advanced	-0.23916	-0.10287	0.03441	

Comparisons significant at the .05 level are indicated by ***

With regard to the code-related repairs in general, some additional observations can be made which may be relevant for pedagogical purposes.

As indicated earlier, there was a curvelinear relationship between proficiency levels in three of the main subcategories (morphological, lexical, syntactic) but not for the phonological repairs. In this last category the Superior level speakers, on average, had the most repairs and the Advanced level speakers the fewest.

In the morphological category, the general curvelinear relationship between the proficiency levels was apparent also in most of the secondary subcategories. The most prevalent types of

repairs were Gender and Case, and both groups tended to remain constant across levels (the means for Superior, Advanced, and Intermediate were 2.1, 3.0, 2.8, respectively, for Gender and 0.7, 1.8, 1.4 for Case). These results seem to agree with the findings of Dietrich (1982), who observed a high frequency of gender and case repairs in his data (see Chapter II, Section 2.3.3, for further discussion). In comparison, repairs of adjective declinations were relatively infrequent in my data and did not show much of a difference, on average, between levels.

In the lexical category, the greatest difference between the means was in the secondary subcategory of code switching, i.e. the use of an item from L1 (or any other foreign language) and a repair in L2. The Advanced learners made the most use of this device (2.1), and the Superior level speakers used it less than the Intermediates (0.8 and 1.5, respectively).

In the syntactic category, there was not much difference in the means between the proficiency levels. This would appear to suggest that certain repair types tend to remain constant over the different levels. The most constant of all were word order repairs: 0.1 at each level. All the levels were about the same for this type of repair. Other syntactic subgroups (Agreement, Other structural changes) also exhibited the general tendency to remain constant across the levels. Anacoluthon, however, seemed to be a phenomenon associated with Advanced and Superior level speakers. No instances of this type of repair were registered at the Intermediate level.

4.2 Qualitative Analysis of the Data

Several issues emerge from the quantitative analysis that invite discussion. Two of the most important ones also seem to be interrelated: the curvelinear relationship between the different levels of proficiency in code-related repairs, and the relationship between code- and discourse-related repairs at different levels of proficiency.

As to the relationship between code-related repairs and the three proficiency levels, both the Intermediate and the Superior levels show a similar average of code-related repairs: 23.769 and 23.111, respectively. Speakers at the Advanced level, with an average of 30.375, tended to make this type of repair most frequently. Various factors may contribute to the differences observed in the repair behavior of the L2 learners, among them the quantitative and qualitative differences in linguistic knowledge at different levels of proficiency, differences in underlying cognitive processes, and the influence of language teaching.

Intermediate L2 learners, even at the sublevel Intermediate High, obviously operate with narrow linguistic resources in both quantitative and qualitative terms. The amount of knowledge at this stage of development is limited, and--more important--the linguistic information is not yet sufficiently analyzed and organized into

structured categories (see Bialystok and Sharwood Smith 1985). According to these authors, it is the latter qualitative feature of linguistic knowledge that ultimately decides what the learners are able to accomplish with the language (Bialystok and Sharwood Smith 1985). The degree of analysis also affects the repair activity: the ability to correct may presuppose a higher degree of analysis than is present at the Intermediate level (see Bialystok and Ryan 1985 for further discussion). However, not being able to repair does not mean that L2 learners are unaware of the akwardness of their discourse. This was shown frequently in the data of the study, for instance, by the use of "excuse" or "distance" indicators (Stedje 1982, cited in Lehtonen 1984), such as embarrassed laughing, in connection with language problems. According to Lehtonen, speakers distance themselves from their discourse by these markers, signaling to the listener that "I, the speaker, am not as stupid and simple as my speech sounds" (1984:77).

Examples of the "distance indicators," both with and without the subsequent repairs, are given below. Examples (a) and (b) refer to lexical problems, example (c) relates more to the perceived general akwardness of the communication:

(a) I: **was meinen sie wenn sie sagen sie haben washington gern? was bedeutet das?**
S: **uh + ich uh habe + uh + e politik interessier interessieren und uh + uh ump a ph viel ist uh + [click] [squeak] *happening [laugh] uh in in die stadt und + [sniff] ich ich uh eben + gefalle.** (30-2-13/21)

I: what do you mean when you say you like washington? what does that mean?
S: uh + I uh am interes- interested + uh + in politics and uh + uh uhm a ph so much is uh + [click] [squeak] *happening [laugh] uh in in the city and + [sniff] I
I uh just + like.

(b) I: **und uh + wieviele leute wohnen in dieser wohnung?**
S: **vier leute. in meine klasse kam kla uh meine hauskamaradin uh [squeak] meine zimmerkamaradin [laugh] und ihre beste freundin + und ihre k uh + zimmerkamaradin.** (28-2-23/27)

I: and uh + how many people live in this apartment?
S: four people. in my class ma class uh my housemates uh [squeak] my roommate [laugh] and her best female friend and her cl uh + roommate.

(c) I: **uh + erzählen sie mir doch etwas über ihre familie**
S: **i ich habe: zwei schwestern und ein bruder. meine schwester + gehe nach syracuse *university und + mein bruder und sch schwester sind uh kindern und + habe ich ein mutter [laugh] und väter und**
I: **uhm und: sie sagen ihre + ihr bruder ist ein kind?** (29-2-21/25)

I: uh + tell me something about your family.
S: I- I have: two sisters and one brother. my sister + goes to syracuse *university and + my brother and s sister are uh children and + I have a mother [laugh] and father and
I: uhm and: you say your + your brother is a child?

An additional explanation for the lower average of repairs in general at the Intermediate level in comparison with the Advanced level may also lie in the particular tendency of the speakers at this level to reduce their communicative goals when faced with linguistic problems (see e.g. Faerch and Kasper 1982, 1983a). Accordingly, the data for this level showed fewer attempts to repair.

At the advanced level, both quantitative and qualitative

linguistic knowledge increased. Along with that, the ability to repair also showed as increase. The speakers at this level appeared to be more aware of possible departures from the rules of the second language. Errors, when noticed, were often corrected. in the particular group of college students who were observed in the present study, formal education, with emphasis on accuracy, may have further contributed to the increased tendency to use code-related repairs at this level.

At the Superior level the tendency to use code-related repairs decreased again--but now for different reasons than at the Intermediate level. Whereas at the Intermediate level there is less ability to repair, at the Superior level this ability was high but there was less need to make code-related repairs (see Faerch and Kasper 1982). The findings in my data seem to confirm, both in general and with individual speakers, the suggestion of Faerch and Kasper that the repair behavior of speakers at higher levels of proficiency is "not so much determined by an 'objective' need for repair as by what they consider appropriate communicative behavior on their part" (1982:89). The still relatively high average of code-related repairs at the Superior level may, again, be attributed to educational background. Also, the communicative situation itself--the oral proficiency interview--may carry with it an expectation (at least in the present status quo) that more attention will be paid to formal aspects of language than in another type of conversation.

Together with the tendencies described in L2 learner repair behavior in relation to code-related repairs, another trend could be observed in the data: discourse-related repairs tended to increase considerably from the Intermediate to the Advanced level, and there was a striking difference in the use of these types of repairs between the Intermediate and Superior levels (see Figure 9).

Differences in linguistic knowledge of L2 learners at different levels of proficiency are only one aspect of the picture. In accounting for the increase in discourse-related repairs at higher levels of proficiency, one also has to look at cognitive processes at work in the production of L2 learner discourse. A conversation of an L2 learner with a native speaker poses great cognitive demands on the learner. In addition to their limited linguistic knowledge, Intermediate learners in this kind of encounter also have problems with effective processing and retrieval of information (see e.g. Bialystok and Sharwood Smith 1985). Furthermore, they are unable to avail themselves of the strategies they would use automatically in a similar situation in their L1 (see Lehtonen 1984:80). Much of the cognitive capacity of the learners at lower levels of proficiency is spent on conscious monitoring of the most apparent aspects of language use, i.e. the code (see Lehtonen 1984, 1985; McLaughlin et al. 1983 for further discussion). With increasing automaticity in cognitive processes, more capacity is freed up to deal with "higher level" aspects of language use. Thus more attention can be paid to

the message--to its better formulation, elaboration, extension. Discoursal aspects, such as consideration for the listener (e.g. by adding background information), or expression of the speakers' attitudes towards their own production (e.g. changing a categorial statement to a "softer" one by adding a hedge such as ich glaube [I think] or a pragmatic adverbial--vielleicht [probably]) tend to become more explicit and prominent as the proficiency level increases. This shift of focus from code to discourse in repair behavior of L2 learners at increased proficiency levels could be followed using the framework of the present study.

The influence of the communicative situation--i.e. the oral proficiency interview--and the educational background of the L2 learners may also have contributed to the observed tendencies to use code- and/or discourse-related repairs in the data. For instance, the high proportion of code-related repairs at the Superior level may be--at least partially--attributable to the nature of the communicative situation. However, not all L2 learners interpreted the requirements of the communicative situation in the same way, nor did they display their code-related concerns in the same way. Within the general tendencies to use code- and/or discourse-related repairs in a certain way at a particular level of proficiency, a closer look at the data reveals individual variations of L2 learner repair behavior.

There are examples of L2 learner repair activity in the data

that reflect different personal styles, different strategies, different motivations. At the Superior level, for instance, individual speakers differ in their repair activity, particularly in discourse-related repairs. The most notable difference can be observed between Students #1 and #2. A stretch of their discourse illustrates the difference in their styles:

Student #1: [about a book] **sie beschreibt + uh sie beschreibt + uh die ganze lage also + s sie hat ein + ein phantastisches gefühl für die psychologie des kindes. und d die art in der er spricht + oder uh + uh ich meine in der sie schreibt + dass er spricht [laughter]. es + es ist sehr subtil und + sie hat die die + die die kleinen also die kleinigkeit + PHANTASTISCH + ausgesucht und und gefunden und + [breath] es ist wirklich die psychologie ist + uh finde ich ist phantastisch. sehr sehr fein.** (1-7-37/53)

Student #1: [about a book] she describes + uh she describes + uh the whole situation + I mean + s she has a + a fantastic sense for the psychology of the child. and t the way how he speaks + or uh + uh I mean how she writes + that he speaks. [laughter] it + it is very subtle and + she has picked it up and found the the + the the small I mean the details + FANTASTICALLY + and and [breath] it is really psychology is + uh I think fantastic. very very nice.

Student #2: **ich bin in puerto rico geboren. uh + puerto rico + zwei inseln weiter von cuba. in der karibik. ziemlich schön. immer das meer und auch berge und + das war ganz schön aber + die leute sind halt nicht das was man von den leuten erwartet.** (2-2-11/19) [later] **sie + die männer in puerto rico überhaupt. sie denken sich halt viel höher als die frauen. und man kann nicht auf einem selben niveau mit denen reden. sie sind immer über einen. die frau muss also zu hause bleiben auf das kind aufpassen und + darf also nicht arbeiten gehen. sie ist nur für das den haushalt da.** (2-2-35/45)

Student #2: I was born in puerto rico. uh + puerto rico + two islands far from cuba. in the caribbean. quite beautiful. always the sea and also the mountains and +

> that was quite beautiful but + the people are not what one expects them to be. (2-2-11/19) [later] they + men in puerto rico generally speaking. they think more highly of themselves than of women. and one can't speak with them on the same level. they are always above you. the woman has to stay at home and look after the children and + is not allowed to go to work. she is only for housework there. (2-2-35/45).

Student #1 is a hesitant speaker who carefully weighs both the content and linguistic form of her message. This consciousness is reflected in her repairs: her discourse is rich in elaborations and amendments. Also, some code-related problems are overtly negotiated. In general she seems to be comfortable with her situation as a foreigner. Even if she is hesitant, her hesitations are "natural": the pause distribution is native-like (cf. e.g. Faerch et al. 1984), often after und, or aber. Stretching as a planning device, for instance, in the case of an article, is commonly--and effectively--used. Other devices of "compensatory fluency" (see Faerch et al. 1984), such as repetition, are used in order to gain more planning time. Other hesitation markers, not as effective, occur as well--e.g. [click] and [squeak]--but they are not frequent. The speaker makes use of gambits (see e.g. Edmondson 1981; Faerch and Kasper 1982) and metalinguistic observations. The discourse displays few errors. Even though the speaker seems to be monitoring the L2 code intensively, not all errors are corrected. Morphological errors appear to be more embarrassing for her than, for instance, lexical ones. In general, her performance, in spite of the hesitations and frequent restructurings, is coherent. She

displays with her discourse much of what Halliday (1985) calls the "dynamic potential of the system" (202), i.e. "the ability to 'choreograph' very long and intricate patterns of semantic movement while maintaining a continuous flow of discourse that is coherent without being constructional" (ibid.).

Student #2's performance shows very few hesitations. The data contain only occasional 'uh' and a little stretching as a time-gaining device. The constituents are smoothly linked together, and the pause distribution is, as with Student #1, "native-like". Unlike Student #1, however, Student #2 seems to have a stronger need for face-saving strategies (see e.g. Faerch and Kasper 1982). There is no overt negotiation of linguistic problems. On the contrary, the few code-related problems that do surface in the data are quickly dealt with--even if a repair failure may result. Like Student #1, she does not correct all her errors. The overall impression is that this student, in some instances, reduces her communicative goals in order not to reveal lexical or other code-related problems. Her "syntactic strategy" is "clause-chaining" as opposed to Student #1's "clause-integrating" strategy, which gives a fluent impression--and requires fewer restructurings (see Pawley and Syder 1983). Like Student #1, she is a coherent speaker, even though the coherence is achieved by different structural means.

The differences in the repair behavior between these two speakers, both at the Superior level, can be explained at least by the following factors:

(1) Student #1 is an "explorer" (my term) in her use of language, i.e. she looks for new ways of saying things, thereby risking errors and possible repairs. Student #2, at least in this communicative situation, prefers to play it safe: she repeats same expressions instead of finding different ways to say the same thing, incorporates the interviewer's expressions, etc.

(2) Student #1 overtly discusses her code-related problems. She has less need for face-saving strategies: her status as a language learner is also manifested overtly:

Student #1: [talking about whether she would teach languages] **ich habe + oh ich hab lange gedacht ob das französisch oder oder deutsch sein sollte aber + ich glaube dass mein französisch VIEL besser ist [laughter] und + da zögere ich nicht. ich meine + wenn man + über ein wort fünf minuten oder + auch in zwei minuten zögern muss o wenn man nicht ganz sicher ist dann ist das zu + zu gefährlich.** (1-22-17/33)

Student #1: [talking about whether she would teach languages] I have + oh I thought a long time whether it should be french or or german but I think that my french is MUCH better [laughter] and + there I don't hesitate. I mean + if one + has to hesitate about a word five minutes or + even two minutes or if one is not completely sure then it is too + too dangerous.

Also, Student #2 explicitly refers to her status--this time, however, as somebody who already knows German very well (her parents are German; she grew up in Puerto Rico). Hence more face-saving strategies are probably needed in a communicative situation like an oral proficiency interview.

I: **wie kamen sie zu dem entschluss deutsch zu studieren?**
S: **ah meine deu meine eltern sind deutsche. und: [click] uh als ich: hier an der georgetown als ich hinschrieb dann sagte /?/ *school of languages and linguistics *is ok. da kann ich deutsch studieren obwohl ich schon kann + aber helfen kann's mir trotzdem.** (2-1-29/37)

I: how did you get the idea to study german?
S: ah my ge my parents are german. and: [click] uh when I: here at georgetown when I wrote here then the school of languages and linguistics said it is ok. I can study german there even if I already can + but it can help me anyhow in spite of that.

Similar "pressure of German inheritance" can be seen in another student (#3) who shows a pattern of repairs similar to that of Student #2: "**ich bin mit der deutschen sprache aufgewachsen**" (I grew up with the German language) (3-2-9).

(3) Student #1 applies a syntactic strategy that leads her to a slowed articulatory rate, pauses, and structural breakdowns. Student #2 uses a telegraphic style that may be more effective in terms of grammaticality and fluency, at least in the sense of absence of 'disfluencies' (see Pawley and Syder 1983, see also my discussion in Chapter II).

What do these students have in common then, with regard to repairs? One feature that is common to these two, and also in general for the higher levels in comparison with the lower levels, is the avoidance of unnecessary attention-calling to code-related aspects. Errors, if they occur, are not always corrected. If they are corrected, as a result of monitoring for correctness, or monitoring the comprehension of the listener, the repair activity

is, in general, quickly performed. Both speakers seem to be trying to avoid problem situations. The anticipation of problems is more apparent with Student #2, but Student #1 also displays this, for instance, in the form of paraphrasing. Both speakers use hesitation devices (e.g. stretching, gambits) appropriately in connection with repairs, or just to gain more planning time.

It would seem, then, that the speakers themselves at the Superior level find code-related repairs to be embarrassing. This appears to be the case particularly with morphological repairs. Code-related repairs may be uncommunicative also from the listener's point of view. Discourse-related repairs, on the other hand, may be perceived to be communicative by a native speaker (see Saari 1975), at least in the absence of other "irritating" factors such as frequent lexical and grammatical errors (see Albrechtsen et al. 1980; Faerch et al. 1984). As a matter of fact, a comparison between Student #1 (Superior level) and Student #17 (Advanced) indicates that this may be the case.

Student #1 and Student #17 display a similar pattern in their use of discourse-related repairs, and also, partially, in their use of code-related repairs. Both speakers have a similar "syntactic strategy"--that of "clause-integrating." However, with Student #17 this style apparently works to his disadvantage. Because of his frequent lexical problems, manifested as overt corrections, lexical searches, and even lexical gaps, his discourse be-

comes incoherent and rambling. Also, his use of the gambit ich meine [I mean], which in other circumstances might make the discourse smoother, is overworked. In this particular case, the use of a gambit has not fooled the interviewer into believing that the speaker is particularly fluent (see my discussion in Chapter II).

An example of Student #17's discourse:

Student #17: [talking about the American image in Germany] **verstehen sie ich meine was sie im fernsehen sehen ist ist echt nicht ich meine in ihren + kopfen [low, insecure] und ich meine ganz einfach + man sieht uh es ist ein ganz einfaches beispiel aber uh wieviele leute in deutschland uh rauchen. wenn man in in so eine kneipe geht und alles die rauchen unheimlich viel und man ich ich + ich frage sie immer oh ja ich meine sie bieten immer zigaretten an ich ich sage immer nein ich rauche nicht. und sie schauen so komisch an ich meine + wie wie sie rauchen nicht nicht /sie sagen/ ich meine in amerika + die jungen leute die rauchen nicht so viel wie hier ich meine s und dann sie ganz so uh bezwei *no wie heisst das bezweifelt? nein bezwei uh + die sind ganz + uh sie verstehen nicht wie + wie ich meine im fernsehen wo sie rauchen immer /bla bla bla/ ich meine in spanien ist es genau so. sie glauben marlboro.** (17-9-1/29)

Student #17: [talking about the American image in Germany] you know I mean what you on TV it is not real I mean in their + heads [low, insecure] and I mean quite simply + one sees uh it is a very simple example but uh how many people in germany uh smoke. when one goes to to a bar and so they smoke an awful lot and one I- I + I ask them always oh yes I mean they always offer cigarettes I I say always no I don't smoke. and they look at me so funny I mean + how come you don't smoke /they say/ I mean in america + the young people they don't smoke so much than here I mean s and then they very so uh susp- no how do you say that *bezweifelt? no *bezwei- uh + they are very + uh they don't understand how + how I mean on TV where they always smoke /bla bla bla/ I mean in spain it's exactly that way. they believe in marlboro.

A further difference between this student and Student #1 can be found in the use of those repairs that explicitly express speakers' attitudes towards their own discourse. Speaker #1 occasionally reformulates her utterances also in this way. An example of her discourse illustrates use of the hedge ich glaube [I believe]. (The first instance of ich glaube has not been considered as repair here):

I: [talking about problems with the U.S. and the Middle East] **ihr vater kommt doch aus + aus diesem gebiet? oder?**
S: **ja: aber + das ist eine schwierige frage. ich meine + vor + vor ungefähr dreissig jahren**
I: [uhm]
S: **glaube ich + hat er lebanon ge: + uh + lebanon verlassen.**
I: **uhm**
S: **und + also wir sp + wir sprachen + sehr wenig davon + zu hause. vielleicht weil er + ich glaube dass er ein ein bisschen + schuldge: + gefühl hatte.** (1-16-23/39)

I: [talking about problems with the U.S. and the Middle East]..your father comes from + from this area, doesn't he?
S: yes: but + it is a difficult question. I mean + about thirty years ago
I: [uhm]
S: I think + he left lebanon + uh + lebanon.
I: [uhm]
S: and + that is we sp + we spoke + very little about it at home. perhaps because he + I think that he felt a little bit + guilty.

This comparison between Students #1 and 17 suggests at least two observations. (1) The same types of discoursal repairs can have a different effect in different contexts. Discoursal repairs, instead of being "good" or "bad" as such, may rather be a function of other contextual factors such as frequent errors or lexical problems. Depending on the context, they then either enhance the commu-

nication or contribute to perceived incoherence. (2) The use of certain pragmatic expressions, such as ones that indicate the speaker's attitude towards his or her own discourse in the context of reformulations, may be indicative of greater discoursal awareness--and also of the level of proficiency.

ENDNOTES FOR CHAPTER IV

[1]The scale varies from one diagram to another in order to best show the contrast within each subgroup.

[2]Scheffe's and Tukey's post-hoc tests were used to verify the results in the analysis.

V. CONCLUSIONS

5.1 Summary of the Objectives and the Procedure

The aim of the present study was to look at self-repairs of L2 learners at different levels of proficiency in their face-to-face interaction with native speakers. A particular focus was on college students, L2 learners of German. On the basis of a small number of previous investigations into L2 learner repairs and a pre-study in L2 learner discourse, it was expected that these learners differ in their repair behavior as their proficiency in L2 increased. A distinction was made between repairs related to L2 code and those related to the discourse as such. It was hypothesized that the proportion of discourse-related repairs relative to the total number of repairs would differ depending on the speaker's level of proficiency. Also, an increasing tendency to use more discourse-related repairs at the higher levels of proficiency was expected. As for the code-related repairs, it was hypothesized that their proportion relative to the total number of repairs would differ by proficiency level.

The theoretical framework that best seemed to correspond to the objectives of the present study was that of Enkvist and Björklund (1986). Their taxonomy, though aimed at the investigation of "structure shifts" in native speech, could still be applied, with notable modifications, to the study of self-repairs in L2 learner

discourse. The base of the present research was a corpus of 30 oral proficiency interviews (ACTFL) with L2 learners of German at three levels of proficiency: Intermediate, Advanced, and Superior.

The L2 learner data were transcribed and classified. A quantitative analysis, both descriptive and inferential (ANOVA), was performed in order to extract general tendencies in the data and to test the hypothesis. Finally, a supplementary qualitative analysis was carried out on selected portions of the data.

5.2 Review of the Results

The statistical analysis of the data using ANOVA confirmed the main hypothesis in that the proportion of discourse-related repairs relative to the total number of repairs differed significantly ($p < 0.05$) between the Intermediate and Superior levels. In the code-related repairs a similarly significant difference ($p < 0.05$) was found between the Intermediate and Superior levels in the morphological category. In addition, various trends could be inferred from the data. As expected, there was a growing tendency among the L2 learners to use, on the average, more discourse-related repairs when their proficiency increased. In the use of code-related repairs, however, a curvelinear relationship could be observed at the different levels of proficiency: As a general tendency, these repairs increased, on the average, from the Intermediate

to the Advanced level, and then decreased from the Advanced to the Superior level. A similar curvelinear relationship could be observed in three out of the four subcategories of code-related repairs, i.e. morphological, syntactic, and lexical. Within this pattern, the most noticable difference between proficiency levels could be seen in morphology. L2 learners at the Superior level tended to use considerably fewer morphological repairs than L2 learners at the Intermediate or Advanced levels. Syntactic and lexical repairs showed the same curvelinear relationship between the proficiency levels, but the differences, on the average, were not so marked as with the morphological repairs. Contrary to expectations, a different curvelinear relationship was observed with phonological repairs. L2 learners at the Advanced level (who made the most repairs in the other three subcategories) had the lowest average of phonological repairs. L2 learners at the Superior level had the highest average of this type of repair. However, in comparison with the other three subcategories of code-related repairs, phonological repairs were not frequent in the data. In general, the overall average of code-related repairs in the group of L2 learners studied was higher at the Superior level than expected.

5.3 Main Points of the Discussion

The tendencies and differences observed in the use of code-

and discourse-related repairs between the proficiency levels of L2 learners have been discussed in terms of the interaction of linguistic knowledge and workings of cognitive processes. At the Intermediate level linguistic knowledge is limited. Also, a considerable amount of cognitive effort at this level may be assumed to be directed toward processing basic aspects of L2 code, such as semantic and syntactic relationships between linguistic components, and their phonological representations. With increasing linguistic knowledge, as is the case at the Advanced and Superior levels, automaticity in retrieving the knowledge has also increased. Consequently, it may be concluded that more cognitive capacity is available for developing other aspects of language use.

The influence of the communicative situation--i.e. the oral proficiency interview--and the educational background of the L2 learners in the present study was assumed to have contributed to the relatively high proportion of code-related repairs still found at the Superior level. Within the general trend to use more discourse-related repairs than code-related repairs at the higher levels of proficiency, individual differences in L2 learner repair activity could be observed. At the Superior level, for instance, different styles of L2 learner discourse performance were distinguished. A speaker of the "explorer" type produced, in general, more repairs than a "safe-player." The use of complex sentence structures tended to increase the number of repairs. Face-saving apparently played a

role in repair behavior. More overt display of linguistic problems was present when the L2 learner seemed to be at ease with her status as "not being so good in German." A feature common to all L2 learners in the data, at all levels of proficiency, was that not all code-related errors were corrected. The reasons for not opting to repair were assumed to be different at different levels of proficiency: while at the lower levels there was not always the ability to repair, at the higher levels it may have been be a conscious decision not to repair if it was perceived to be uncommunicative. In general, the L2 learners at the Superior level did not waste much time in code-related corrections. If no quick correction was possible, the speakers even risked repair failure, or then demonstrated somewhere else in the discourse that they mastered a particular form. From a comparison between two speakers with similar repair patterns at the Superior and Advanced levels, it could be inferred that discourse-related repairs may, in fact, be a function of other factors in the discoursal context. In the relative absence of, for instance, grammatical errors or lexical problems, discoursal repairs are communicatively not irritating to the listener. On the contrary, when appropriately used, they display "the dynamic potential" of spoken language as opposed to written language (Halliday 1985). Elaborations, in particular, improve the message and enhance the communication while explicitly drawing on the interactionality of the discourse.

While showing how L2 learners differ in their repair behavior at different levels of proficiency, the present study has also unfolded other dimensions of the development of L2 proficiency. The shift of attention from code- to discourse-related repairs can be seen to reflect the increasing ability of L2 learners toward full use of language in its metalinguistic and metacommunicative functions (see Schiffrin 1980, 1987: cf. Faerch and Kasper 1982 for a different view of metacommunicative function).[1] On the one hand, L2 learners at the higher levels of proficiency make greater or lesser use of the metalinguistic function--i.e. focus on code--depending on the communicative situation and other factors, at the same time they gradually become more able to also express the metacommunicative function of language in their L2, i.e. focus on "codification of message and the relationship between the communicators" (Schiffrin 1987:201, referring to Bateson 1972).

Thus the perspective offered by the present framework, with its distinction between code- and discourse-related repairs, has not only served to meet the original goal of describing the repair behavior of L2 learners, but I believe that it has also pointed to possibilities for exploring the development of proficiency itself.

5.4 Implications for Further Research

The implications of the present study for further research

are manifold. This research looked at the repair behavior of students in a particular type of a communicative situation, i.e. the oral proficiency interview. Repairs in other types of communicative situations, such as informal conversations, or classroom interactions, should be studied as well. Furthermore, the classification system of the present study should be tested not only in different types of communicative situations but also with other types of L2 learners. The classification system can be improved, particularly in terms of the discoursal repairs: the further breakdown of subtypes such as "elaborations" could lead to valuable insights. Lexical repairs were found in the present research to be a group which, at least partly, could be subject to more than one interpretation in the classification. Lexical problems in connection with repairs in general seem to be an area that deserves further investigation. It would also be useful to look closer at those features which, in my corpus, seem to distinguish lower- and higher-level speakers--for instance, the explicit use of pragmatic devices such as ich glaube 'I believe'. These kinds of "gambits" (see discussion in Chapter II, endnotes 18 and 20) are largely unexplored in the studies of L2 use. In connection with repairs, repair markers--often gambits--could be examined more closely. No systematic studies exist so far on the use of repair markers by L2 learners of German. As for oral proficiency testing in general, there have not been many studies on the discoursal aspects of

communication, and only a few on repairs. For ACTFL testing in particular, one of the phenomena that might be examined is the occurence of repairs at the different stages of the oral proficiency interview (Warm-Up, Level Check, Probes, and Wind-Down). Also, a comparison of the ACTFL criteria for the threshold levels (Intermediate, Advanced, Superior) and the repairs made by L2 learners in the ACTFL oral proficiency interviews might yield valuable information for the oral proficiency testers. Beyond the question of repairs as such, the study may offer implications for the investigation of other features of communication, for instance, miscommunication. In the negotiation of meaning in the communication process, repairs may play a decisive role.

5.5 Pedagogical Implications

Should repairs be included in the L2 teaching programs? Different opinions on this and related questions were discussed in Chapter II, Section 4. The results of the present study indicate that repairs are an essential aspect of L2 use in oral communication. The research also reveals that L2 communication displays particular features in relation to the L2 code. The study seems to have implications both for the treatment of didactic material and for teacher-student interaction. The problematic practical question is: how can repairs be appropriately incorporated in L2 teaching?

In the first place, it is preferable that repairs not be regarded, or treated in the classroom, as a separate phenomenon. In my view, students should be encouraged from the very beginning of the L2 program to see them within the larger framework of communication. In the pedagogical debates about so-called communicative language teaching and testing, surprisingly little attention has been given to the concept of communication itself.[2] If communication is understood to involve, in both L1 and L2, a constant monitoring of oneself and others, and negotiation between interlocutors (see Sajavaara 1987), then repair activity in general becomes a normal phenomenon of oral language use. The concept of the "communication game" (Tannen 1986), or "communication ballgame" (Kramsch and Crocker 1985), should be introduced to the students from the very beginning of an L2 course. Simple requests for the interlocutor to repeat (wie bitte?), tentative repetitions of the wordings of the interlocutor, with slightly rising intonation (Sie heissen Bach?), time-gaining strategies for word-searching (gambits, repetition, use of L1, etc.) are some examples of repair work that can--and should-- be introduced in the early stages of L2 learning.[3] Most L2 programs only include considerations of this kind in later semesters, in so-called conversation courses (cf. Kramsch and Crocker 1985).[4] Within this comprehensive view of repairs as a part of the communication process, other more specific questions about repairs can be dealt with, such as the sensitivity

of the speaker to the communicative situation and the nature of oral discourse in different communicative situations (see also discussion in Chapter II, Section 2). The demands of communicative situations should be discussed with the students.[5] Excessive attention to the code in the form of code-related repairs may be harmful to communication in a situation where the interlocutor is genuinely interested in the message. The most successful students in my data seem to have internalized this notion: they are sparing with their code-related repairs or avoid code-related problems altogether. This research would seem to yield pointers to the students (these would, of course, be "non-pedagogical" in traditional terms):

- don't repair the code unnecessarily;
- don't repair errors unnecessarily;
- don't be too bothered by single lexical items;
- use L1 occasionally if your interlocutor also knows that language instead of engaging in long lexical search processes.

Most students in my corpus still seem to be somewhat embarrassed when using L1, as in the following examples:

ja: ich + uh: lese u + ich lese über *communicative testing. ich muss das in *english sagen. (11-1-39)

yes: I am + uh: reading u- + I am reading about *communicative testing. I have to say that in *English.

ich habe in cleveland studiert uh: bei einer *college + oder etwas ähnliches + eine + eine universität von zwei jahren. (12-1-31/35)

I studied in Cleveland uh: at a *college + or something similar + a + a university for two years.

In trying to improve students' ability to participate successfully in oral communication, it would be important for the teacher to remember--and to remind the students of--how listeners process information. Many cues contribute to the construction of meaning: the communicative situation, pragmatic knowledge of the world, language redundance, etc. (Pitkänen and Kohonen 1984). Thus, when one's goal is to communicate, one "should simply concentrate on producing a normal flow of speech and not be overtly worried about individual items" (Rubin and Thompson 1982).

The classroom environment does not normally encourage self-repairs or natural appeals for help from the interlocutor. The "teacher-dependence" that often appears in L2 learner discourse, for instance in the form of a request for confirmation of the learner's expectations (expressed by a rising intonation at the end of an utterance, a pause and a questioning look at the teacher, discourse markers, etc.) appears even in my data in spite of the particular testing situation. Development of the student toward "independence" as a communicator--and an ability to self-repair adequately--requires that the teacher engage in a considerable amount of cognitive work, explicitly discussing discoursal phenomena with the class. Similarly, interactional behavior patterns can be analyzed.

With regard to communicative language testing, there are also implications. Some of the oral proficiency interviews in my corpus are still overtly "language-centered" (see Dahbi 1984 on "language-centered" and "discourse-centered" teachers). The lack of real communication in certain cases may have been frustrating to the students.[6] Information about communication in general, the effect of the listener's behavior on the speaker's performance, and the nature of spoken language, including repairs, are some of the topics that should be included in tester training programs.

ENDNOTES FOR CHAPTER V

[1]Faerch and Kasper (1982) state that in their L2 learner data they did not find any instances of metacommunicative repairs. However, their definition of metacommunicative function refers to the illocutionary force of the utterance.

[2]This was one of the questions brought up by Sajavaara during the discussion following his paper at the Georgetown University Round Table on Languages and Linguistics (GURT 1987).

[3]Examples are from H. Aufderstrasse et al. (1983), which shows an unusually large number of ways of introducing repairs in the more comprehensive sense of the term, even though they are not explicitly pointed out to the teachers.

[4]My own experiences with beginning students at the Federal University of Paraiba, Campina Grande, Brazil, show that repair activity can become a natural part of L2 discourse even in the beginning stages.

[5]See House 1986, for example, for a discussion on the importance of cognitive aspects of L2 learning.

[6]In the briefings, some of the students commented on the interviewer's lack of genuine interest in them as persons and in their answers. For a further discussion regarding the influence of the interviewer's behavior on the speaker's repairs and hesitations, see Chapter II, Sections 2.2 and 2.3.1.2; also Erickson (1985).

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APPENDIX I

TRANSCRIPTION CONVENTIONS

+	pause
.	sentence-final falling intonation
?	yes/no question rising intonation
:	lengthening
CAPS	emphatic stress
*	foreign language item (other than German)
/ /	probable wording
/?/	transcription impossible
[ ]	comments of the analyst
[	overlapping speech
]	immediate continuation by another speaker

(Modified from D. Tannen 1984.)

APPENDIX II

THREE EXAMPLES OF ACTFL ORAL PROFICIENCY INTERVIEWS

Interviewer #1
Student #1 (Superior)

I: [beginning missing] wie kommen sie sie sagen sie haben stifter gesprochen. + was haben sie da zu stifter + zu
S: [ja] [laughter]
I: sagen gehabt?
S: wir lesen: + [click] ah + seine novelle uh + [click] bergkristall?
I: uhm:
S: also wir haben ein bisschen über + [click] + uh + seine jugend gesprochen + und so: + uh sein leben auch. + wo er
I: [uhm]
S: geboren war und + sein vat + uh seine ganze familie und
I: [uhm]
S: + [click] + von: + von seiner + uh + [click] + benediktinererziehung + also in der
I: [uhm]
S: schule + uh + und + dieser einfluss auf sein werk. also
I: [uhm] uhm
S: die: das thema der: der harmonie + zwischen
I: [uhm]
S: den: + [click] den kirchlichen festen + und der natur. es war sehr interessant.
I: was haben sie bei + uh im zusammenhang mit bergkristall ganz besonders hervorgehoben?
S: uh + [click] das das ganze thema der der natur und + uh + [click] wie + wie stifter + uh + diese harmonie: + uh wie er versucht diese harmonie + uh vorzustellen und + uh + [click] + und sie mit: + also + mit dem ganzen leben + zu verbinden. also das leben der + der bürger und + des allgemeinen menschen. und + also wir haben wir haben + nur begonnen. + wir haben nicht + uh + darüber gesprochen also noch nicht.
I: uhm
S: aber + uh + diese harmonie zwischen + uh + den zyklen? + der natur und + und und des lebens.
I: uhm + aber + war sein leben selbst so + wie in /?/
S: [nicht am ende. [laughter]
I: [in]wie fern kann man + eben. in wie fern kann man davon sprechen dass [slight hesitation] sein eigenes leben sich in den werken spiegelt?

S: hm + ich bin nicht sicher uh + also + ich hab gehört dass sein leben nicht so harmonisch war + [laughter] besonders am am ende als er + uh selbstmord begehen hat + be uh + ja + aber + ich glaube zum beispiel + heute haben wir gesagt dass + dass die: die revolution von achtzehnhundertacht und + uh vierzig ha [laughter] hatte ihn schockiert [laughter] und dass es + uh + nicht zu zu seinem harmonischen system passte. und ich glaube dass er

I: [uhm]

S: selbst vielleicht ein bisschen + uh + entäuscht + uh wurde und + uh dass sein leben selbst nicht so harmonisch war wie er es + wollte oder + uh

I: glauben sie dass es unter umständen sogar eine + eine: /grössere/ angelegte deutsche eigenschaft ist?

S: diese enttäuschung oder?

I: [nein] uh dieses dieses streben nach dem harmonischen?

S: ich weiss nicht ob das typisch deutsch ist. es ist + es ist vielleicht sehr menschlich. also [hesitation] ja man kann das zum beispiel mit: + mit der biederm uh /debi/ der biedermayerbewegung uh verbinden. also + uh man möchte ein: + ein: + ein ganzes ruhiges leben haben voller har harmonie und + uh: + das ist + das ist vielleicht + deutsch + in dem sinne dass man + uh dass es + dass deutschland ein agrarland war vorher + und dass diese verbindung zwischen + uh + dem + harmonischen leben und + der harmonischen natur + uh + uh + sehr betont war aber + ich weiss nicht ob man + ob man sagen könnte dass das typisch deutsch ist. ich finde das auch au + uh zum beispiel in frankreich.

I: [click] ah sie finden uh eine ähnliche situation in

S: [ja:]

I: frankreich?

S: [aber] + nicht nicht bei allen. besonders bei den: bei den bauern oder + bei + bei den: + ja so + p bei + bei den + bei den leuten die + die auf dem lande wohnen. also es ist vielleicht + dass sie ein bisschen + näher sind + zu + zu der erde oder + zu der natur.

I: [click] uh ist das ein: + uh ein lebensgefühl das in amerika + irgendwie + /?/?

S: [nein] überhaupt nicht.

I: nein?

S: das finde ich hier nicht. ich glaube da + da + na natürlich ist das auch ein ein stereotyp aber + mm + ich habe das gefühl dass + dass wir also dass die amerikaner ein bisschen zu + also: + uh sie haben + es ist mehr also + man sagt immer dass die amerikaner sehr materialistisch sind. und das

ist nicht IMMER der fall aber sehr oft. [laughter] wenn man das + dass sie ein bisschen + zu + beschäftigt sind mit + mit ihrem leben und: + ihrer arbeit + oder + ihrem studium w wann sie + j jünger sind oder so was + aber ich finde dass + dass dieses gefühl nicht + nicht hier /es/ zu finden ist. so es wird nicht nicht so sehr betont. nicht wie in + in europa.

I: uhm

S: uh vielleicht wir ein + also wir f viel jünger sind. also + die vereinigten staaten als + als ein land + sind sind viel + also sie haben nicht die + die lange geschichte das + das euro das: ja f frankreich oder

I: [hm] [exclamative]

S: deutschland + /?/

I: [in] wie fern würde /ja/ würde die geschichte das beeinflussen?

S: oh + uh ich meine dass die geschichte eine eine wichtige rolle spielt. also + in deutschland und frankreich haben

I: [uhm]

S: sie + also: sie haben also diese revolutionen gehabt + und + also n nicht nur revolutionen [laughter] aber [laughter] hier auch [laughter] + aber die geschichte spielt eine wichtige rolle. man man kann + man kann die + die evolution eines landes nicht von der geschichte trennen. das + das wäre ein bisschen zu + ein bisschen zu + idealistisch sein +

I: [uhm]

S: meine ich.

I: ja + uhm + sie haben ja + uh im laufe ihres studiums eine MENGE bücher

S: [laughter]

I: gelesen. + wenn ich sie bitten würde mir EINS

S: [laughter]

I: herauszusuchen + was sie ganz besonders + uh:

S: [hm]

I: empfehlenswert + uh + empfinden + welches wäre es und warum?

S: ein deutsches buch?

I: was immer. nein es muss auch kein deutsches buch sein.

S: hm

I: es könnte auch ein französisches sein. [laughter]

S: hm: + [sigh] das ist oh das ist fast unmöglich. uh + [respiration.] + hm + das ist sehr sehr schwierig für mich.

I: dann nehmen sie irgendeins. das muss nicht das einzige sein. uh sagen wir mal eins was sie ganz besonders beeindruckt hat.

S: [click] + ich hab uh + also während der letzten wochen habe ich ein ein buch gelesen ein + ein italienisches buch + von einer: + schriftstellerin die elsa morante heisst. und + also es ein modernes buch. und: es heisst uh: + [click] also auf deutsch + uh: /atoris/ insel.

I: uhm
S: und das ist die: die geschichte eines + uh:+ eines jungen + uh also + die ganze + entwicklung. es ist wie wie ei + es ist eine entwicklungsroman. also + ein ein moderner entwicklungsroman. also + diese: + uh dieses uh + kind + uh + das + seine uh + seine mutter verloren hat und + [click] das mit dem vater ein bisschen + also: hart ist. und + uh: + ja gefühlslos würde man fast sagen. ah: + der: der sehr gereist ist und der ist fast nicht immer + uh + zu hause. und + sie beschreibt diese ganze entwicklung und + es ist eine + [click] uh + es ist ein: + /ich/ weiss + eine ent + eine entwicklung der der reifheit sagt man? + die die reifheit? also +
I: die reife.
S: die reife: dieses + dieses jungen/ und es ist sehr interessant weil er + uh + am anfang idealisiert er sein vat seinen vater. also + uh: sein vater wird zum + zum gott oder so was. und dann am ende + wird er ganz ganz enttäuscht. und das ist na + ja + das ist + wahrscheinlich immer der fall weil + weil man + wenn man so + wenn man + wenn man so idealisiert dann ist man fast immer enttäuscht am ende.
I: uhm
S: und + also er wird von + [click] diese entwicklung von einem + [click] + uh: + ganz + uh schuldlosen + jungen zum + zum reifen: + uh: mann. das
I: [uhm]
S: das war sehr interessant.
I: uhm
S: und sie beschreibt + uh sie beschreibt + uh + die ganze lage also + s sie hat ein + ein phantastisches gefühl für die psychologie des kindes. und + d die art in der er spricht oder uh + ich meine in der sie schreibt + dass er spricht. [laughter] es + es ist sehr subtil und + sie hat die die + die die kleinen also die kleinigkeiten + PHANTASTISCH + ausgesucht und und gefunden und + [breath] es ist wirklich die psychologie ist + uh finde ich ist phantastisch. sehr sehr fein.
I: uhm
S: das hat mir sehr gefällt.
I: uhm uhm ist das + ist das ein buch das sie im zusammenhang mit einem + uh literaturkurs gemacht haben?
S: ja ja.
I: uhm + und uh uh was haben sie da noch gelesen? /das ist/ interessant
S: hm: ein buch da das mir uh /?/?
I: [uhm]
S: uh: + was noch? + uh: + ich hab + ach ja maria magdalena

gelesen.
I: ah erzählen mir davon etwas.
S: [laughter] das hat mir sehr gefallen.
I: warum?
S: uh: + weil das ganze thema von: + also: + von dem übeln mir sehr interessiert. ich meine es + uh übel ist so + [squeak] man kann nicht sagen genau was übel ist. es hängt von von der persson ab und + von: + von der + von das milieus auch + wahrscheinlich + uh + ob man + uh: eine bürger + eine bürgerliche kultur + uh + gehaben hat oder uh ich meine [quick] + und + uh + ein + zum beispiel meister anton der + der der vater + uh + dieser zwei + also + von klara und + wie heisst er + ah karl + also er ist ein + der der vollkommene bürger. also [laughter] kein problem mit + uh + sehr solid und und aufrecht und + uh + uh: + ja s sehr + sehr solid würde ich es + das ist das beste
I: [uhm]
S: um + ihn zu beschreiben. aber er hat kein + kein mitleid
I: uhm
S: und kein + keine + menschenbezogenheit. und + es gibt + es gibt da kein + keine + keine echte liebe. und + uh + uh + zum beispiel uh uh father [name deleted by the analyst] hat gesagt dass + er hat uns + uh + [click] die definition von + thomas acklin gegeben + von der /bibel/ und er hat gesagt dass übel + uh die abwesenheit eines fehlenden + uh + /mutes/ war. und + das war nicht sehr interessant
I: [uhm]
S: weil + übel ist nicht + nicht immer [squeak] also ein + ein: + [click] + gerechtsloser + uh [str.] eine gerecht eine gerechtslose tat oder so was. es kann etwas viel viel subtiler sein. vielleicht nicht so + nicht so grausam aber + man kann sagen zum beispiel dass inte indifferenz + ein übel
I: [uhm]
S: ist. oder etwas viel: +
I: [uhm] [uhm]
S: viel subtiler + nicht + nicht etwas + uh: + so: + nicht etwas so grausames. es kann etwas + ganz + man kann zum beispiel + sagen + dass + ein + ein fehlen von von mitleid oder von + uh gefühlslosigkeit könnte auch eine ein übel sein. und ich finde diese definitionen phantastisch. besonders für uns heute. also + das zwanzigste jahrhundert ist [laughter] ist ein ein gutes beispiel dafür. es gibt übel überall. [laughter] und + vielleicht + es ist sehr leicht zu sagen ja ich ich bin ein + d der vollkommene bürger. also + kein problem mit + mit übel oder mit: + mit der gerechtslosigkeit aber + /?/ ist viel
I: [uhm]

S: mehr + meiner meinung nach
I: ja uh das kam + indirekt ein bisschen in der klasse auch zum umf + uh zum vorschein im zusammenhang mit + uh der + thematik der der: uh:
S: verantwortung
I: der verantwortung und der gesamtschuld der
S: ja
I: deutschen
S: ja ich weiss dass uh + dass andreas uh + uh + glaubt dass + dass er nicht + also für den /kind/ [background noise] verantwortlich war. ja ok ich bin + bin da seiner meinung. natürlich kann man nicht sagen dass + dass eine person dafür verantwortlich ist. aber + ich meine und vielleicht ist es weil ich + eine + christliche erziehung [emphatic] gehabt habe álso + christliche im + im allgemeinen sinn gehabt habe aber + ich glaube dass die verantwortung etwas viel + viel + [breath] + umfassendes ist als nur + die verantwortung einer person.
I: uhm
S: man kann ich + ich glaube dass man + uh: von einer + gemeinsamen verantwortung sprechen kann. also von einer + ganzen volk o uh + oder oder so was.
I: uhm uhm + [click] es: + uh das war ähnlich auch glaube ich auch in dem schweizer text. uh: so in diesem + sinn. [lower]
S: [ja.] ja uh + es ist leicht zu sagen ja das + das geht mich nicht an. das + das sind die anderen und ich bin nicht + uh deutsch also + ich hab damit nichts zu tun und + aber + das ist vielleicht auch + uh + man man sucht immer einen ausweg und das + das finde ich ein bisschen + man kann nicht + [click] die schuld auf + auf einen anderen uh schieben. das ist zu: + das ist zu leicht. ich + ich weiss es /?/ auch nicht sagen kann ja es ist es war meine schuld und ich bin dafür verantwortlich und deshalb + müssen + müssen also + also muss die ganze gesch + gesellschaft dafür etwas tun. das ist auch ein bisschen zu idea idealistisch. man kann nicht sagen dass + dass man + für alles verantwortlich ist. aber + *hu wenn der + wenn es ein + [click] ein gemeinsam: uh also + ja ein gesamtes + verantwortlich uh verantwortlichkeitsgefühl gibt + dann finde ich dass + dass die gesellschaft ein bisschen + uh + menschlicher ist. + finde ich.
I: [uhm uhm] würde würde ihnen da auch ein bisschen zustimmen. [laughter] uh + beide seiten.
S: ja + vielleicht ist es leichter für für mich zu sagen weil ich nicht + deutsch bin und ich + [squeak] weil ich keine + persoenl + persönliche kriegserfahrung gehabt habe. und meine eltern auch nicht obwohl sie + [squeak] während des

krieges + jung waren aber + dass sie hier waren und + kann man nicht sagen dass + dass meine eltern gestorben sin + waren oder + ich habe keine persönliche erfahrung damit. nur doch die literatur und das ist keine + echte erfahrung. e es es kann eine erfahrung sein aber + oder eine + anerkennung der: + der ganzen situation aber es ist keine + echte erfahrung.

I: uhm + wir haben uns heute diesen film angesehen. ich weiss sie haben noch keine zeit darüber nachzudenken aber wenn

S: ja [laughter]

I: ich sie jetzt ganz kurz um eine reaktion bitten würde was ist ihnen aufgefallen?

S: hm + das hat mich sehr beeindruckt weil + ich + man spricht immer von + von hitler und + von der nazizeit und es war sein [sigh] + das ist ein + ja ein altes thema jetzt wenn das /man/ aber + ja + die art in der er sprach und + die + die ganze [squeak] d di die masse beherrscht hat + war UNGLAUBLICH. uh e er hat + hatte viel talent dafür. man kann das nicht + uh + vermeiden [quick, final swallowed] man + man muss sagen dass er + [squeak] dass er etw + also kharisma vielleicht + uh + aber + die art in der man + also + in d + der er die ganze masse beherrscht hatte wa war unglaublich. und + in + in dem film besonders so hat man

S: so diese + diese liebe für den fi führer: sehr betont + also die frauen und die kinder und ah die: die hitler liebten und + also + weil es

I: uhm

S: wahrscheinlich ein propagandafilm war

I: [oh ja war.] es war ein + sie

S: [laughter]

I: haben recht. es war ein interner + uh film.

S: auch die musik war auch phantastisch dafür. und + die trachten und+

I: ja [uhm] [uhm uhm + haben sie irgendwie einen eindruck von der symbolik bekommen? + uh welchen symbolismus hat man verwendet?

S: uh + die jugend als hoffnung + uh: des jungen

I: [uhm]

S: deutschlands. und + auch die + die militärischen

I: [uhm]

S: symbolen die + uh beherrlicht wurden. zum beispiel uh +

I: uhm

S: [click] + die die uniform + die uniformen waren + uh:

I: [uhm]

S: + s + /*English?/ /wie sagt man/ [whispers] also eine + eine + ein /?/ [*English?] + der uniform und + der

I: [uhm] [uhm]

S: der soldaten auch. zum beispiel + die ganze militärische
I: [uhm]
S: erziehung. so [laughter] uh: und das essen.
I: aber welche werte wurden da betont?
S: [silence]
I: das war doch am anfang an sich nicht so militärisch. es wurde allmaehlich immer militaerischer.
S: [nein. also + es gab immer da + die verbindung + uh + zum volk zum + zum deutschen leben dass es + das IST deutschland. die ganze idee + uh: + der:
I: [uhm]
S: des vaterlandes. alles
I: [hm]
S: für das vaterland und nicht + für für die persönliche
I: [uhm]
S: + uh persönlichen interessen oder so was. + so eine art
I: [uhm] [uhm][uhm]
S: vielleicht + sie waren alle opfer aber + freiwillige opfer + für das vaterland.
I: uhm uhm uhm uhm [breath] wenn sie eine eine eine derartige ausprägung des patriotismus mit dem amerikanischen patriotismus vergleichen würden was
S: [hmm][laughter]
I: würden sie sagen? was ist die + uh wesenhaftigkeit des amerikanischen patriotismus?
S: hm: + ich glaube dass + der amerikanische patriotismus ebenso stark ist + aber + ein bisschen +
I: [uhm]
S: subtiler ist. so + nicht so + fanatisch oder hysterisch aber + uh:
I: [worauf basiert's eher?
S: hm: + es gibt immer di das + das berühmtes thema d das das berühmte thema der + [click] also + der amer des amerikanischen traumens und das + erfolg + und: +
I: [hm]
S: [click] und die gerechtigkeit + die die AMERIKANISCHE gerechtigkeit die *democracy alles + was + was typisch amerikanisch ist ist + uh + also + die freiheit für alle und + uh: + die gleichheit + und das ist ein bisschen + hm: + das existiert
I: uhm
S: aber + nicht immer im + in: in praxis. also ein bisschen wie + wie kommunismus [laughter] könnte man sagen. aber ich glaube dass + die leute hier sind sehr sehr + uh + also man kann sehr leicht von einem + STARKEN patriotismus reden. und man kann + man muss nur
I: hm

S. die + die die die aussenpolitik betrachten und dann dann ist es ganz ganz klar. die vereinigten staaten als + als ein + eine grosse macht + die + die alle länder + uh + uh + beeinflusst hat und + uh m m man man sagt
I: [uhm]
S: immer dass + also die amerikaner sagen oh ja die deutschen s + s sie sind so patrio oh na + sie sind so: + ja pat + patriot und die franzosen überhaul uh + noch
I: [uhm]
schlimmer. aber + hier: + hier ist es + überall zu finden.
I. uhm uhm + uh + haben sie irgendwie eine + eine persönliche + verbindung zu dem ganzen thema in lebanon + zum beispiel? warum mm warum hat sich amerika da so + dick hineingesetzt sozusagen?
S: wo?
I: in in lebanon?
S: ah [sigh]
I. ihr vater kommt doch aus + aus diesem gebiet. oder?
S: ja: aber + das ist eine schwierige frage. ich meine + vor + vor ungefähr dreissig jahren glaube ich + hat
I: uhm
S: er lebanon ge: + uh + verlassen.
I: uhm
S: und + also wir sp + wir sprachen + sehr wenig davon +
I: [aha]
S: zu hause. vielleicht weil er + ich glaube dass er ein bisschen + schuldge: + gefühl hatte. ich + ich das ist vielleicht ein + ich bin nicht ganz sicher aber + ich + ich bin auch nicht ganz sicher ob wir noch + familie da haben oder nicht. aber + was uh: + was
I: [uhm]
S: vereinigten staaten betrifft glaube ich dass + dass die + immer bezeugt sind dass + bezogen sind [quick] d dass sie + dass es ihr pflicht ist + die freiheit in in allen ländern zu versichern ist. also dass dass sie immer + uh: + dass sie die freiheit und die gleichheit überall unterstützen muss + müssen. und + uh + ich glaube dass + fast alle amerikaner + dieses gefühl + gehabt haben also + mit der ganzen lebanon sache. also + uh + unsere soldaten müssen da sein + um + um lebanon zu zu verteidigen und so weiter aber + zur gleichen zeit + gab es auch die die gefahr dass + dass unsere soldaten + uh [str.] + da da starben. und +
I: [uhm] wie vereinbart sich das mit dieser sehr starren haltung uh im zusammenhang mit mit israel also + uh + teilweise liest man in der presse es wäre viel besser wenn + amerika sich ein bisschen von israel distanzieren würde. es hätte mehr bewegungsfreiheit.

S: [click] ja + de das ist eine möglichkeit. anderseits gibt + sind die vereinigten staaten und israel sehr eng verbunden.
I: warum?
S: weil + weil sie: + alliert sind. ich meine [breath] + die gefahr jetzt glaube ich ist dass + dass es uh + konflikte gibt natürlich zwischen israel und + uh + alle uh + arabische ländern. und und wenn die vereinigten staaten + uh: + eine verbindung mit IHNEN haben will + wollen dann müssen sie ihre: + ihre allianz + entweder + uh: + vermindern + also die allianz mit der israel oder + uh: + oder + mit mit den + arabischen ländern verbinden.
I: aber wäre das nicht unter umständen günstiger?
S: ja und nein. uh ich meine man kann nicht plötzlich uh alle + alle beziehungen + uh + abschaffen sagen ja ok jetzt [laughter] sind wir mit + mit ihnen uh: + uh: fertig und wir drehen wir drehen uns um: + w wir wenden uns nach uh jetzt + an: + an die anderen. das + man kann das nicht so. ich meine + das ist nicht sehr diplomatisch und auch + wir haben noch interessen in israel. uh + ökonomische und auch
I: [uhm]
S: politische. uh + wenn man zum beispiel die + die israelische unterstützung hat + hier + zum beispiel reagan + dann hat er auch die ynters die unterstützung + vieler amerikaner die auch + uh + vom israelischen: + von israelischen abstammung sind oder so was. man kann nicht immer sagen-
I: [interrupted] also sie meinen dass das teilweise eine + innenpolitische angelegenheit ist?
S: ja. ja ja innenpolitisch und auch aussenpolitisch. es + es gibt viele
I: hm
S: d dinge die + die da + die da /ein/spielen + /?/ sagen.
I: uhm
S: wenn + uh ich es + es wäre sehr gefährlich w wenn
I: [uhm]
S: wenn reagan sagte ja: + unsere beziehungen mit israel sind jetzt erledigt und jetzt + uh: müssen wir + uh einen + eine neue allianz + uh mit + mit lebanon oder: + irgendein anderes land + uh + entwickeln.
I: [click] uh + man redet ja jetzt manchmal auch von einem + gewissen wegwenden von europa.
S: ja das ist auch sehr gefährlich. + das + ist sehr: + das ist sehr idealistisch auch. die amerikaner glauben dass + also nein + die die regierung glaubt + dass sie: + [squeak] uh unabhängig stehen kann aber das das kann man nicht. besonders heute + also + im zwanzigsten jahrhundert ist das unmöglich. nicht nur für
I: [uhm]

S: die vereinigten staaten aber für + für irgendein land ist das unmöglich jetzt. die amerikanischen [slight hesitation] die: vereinigten staaten sind nicht stark genug + um total unabhängig + uh + bleiben. und das ist auch gefährlich für die ge + für die: + für die politische lage der der ganzen welt. sie sind + einerseits sind sie zu stark und andererseits sind sie nicht stark genug um total unabhängig + uh:

I: ja man sagt einfach die europär scheinen sich nicht

S: zu stehen.

I: selbst einig zu werden. amerika kann sich in richtung

S: [laughter]

I: pazifik wenden.

S: na ich bin nicht der der selben meinung. ich ich meine + es + das ist nicht + das ist eine gefährliche art zu zu argumentieren.+ uh: und vielleicht es + das ist

I: [uhm]

S: amerikanisch auch. wir sind die + die die grossmacht also können wir + wir brauchen die anderen nicht + und + das ist sehr gefährlich. uh + da das würde ich NIE NIE unterstützen + als als politische: + uh: idee.

I: [uhm]

S: a au auch als + als: + ökonomische idee ist das sehr gefährlich. wir brauchen + uh: + die die anderen länder und besonders ihre produkte. also wenn das nicht petrol oder: ich meine öl ist dann ist es + uh: irgendwas anderes. + also + was was der:

I: [uhm] [uhm][uhm]

S: die: + also in der + in in wissenschaftlichem bereich so wie in ökonomischen bereich ist es immer + dasselbe. wir brauchen andere länder andere produkte andere + quellen + der der energie. also + kann man nicht sagen ja wir sind allein wir stehen allein wir brauchen sie nicht.

I: uhm uhm ich werde /ihnen/ ganz schnell das thema wechseln.

S: oh nee [laughter]

I: weil wir ja: uh sehr am ende ihrer existenz hier sind hier in georgetown.

S: [laughter]

I: uh + welche besonderen hoffnungen haben sie jetzt im bezug auf *graduate studium? was erwarten sie sich da?

S: [sniff] ich erwarte alles. und zur selben zeit nicht zu + nicht nicht so viel.

I. uhm

S: uh: + ich versuche ich versuche immer ein bisschen + philos [pronunciation error, long 'o'] philosophisch zu sein weil es + weil es ein bisschen + leichter ist nachher

I: [uhm] *the john

thompson ein kleiner minipessimist [laughter]

S: [laughter] ja ja [laughter] vielleicht realist. das ist besser. also ich + ich hoffe dass ich meine + meine: + ideen + ein bisschen + also + ich hoffe dass ich + uh ein bisschen offener + werde + und dass dass ich nicht + ich glaube da + ich glaube nicht dass ich begraenzt gin + also keineswegs [laughter] aber ich hoffe dass ich + dass ich meine ideen noch erweitern kann und + neue ideen uh entwickeln kann und + entdecken kann. besonders entdecken weil + das das auch ein ein teil des des studiums etwas zu entdecken und + nicht immer + die selben ideen [blowing] + uh nachzudenken. das ist ein bisschen langweilig auch. [laughter] und ich hoffe dass + dass ich +

I: und welche absichten haben sie im endeffekt dann?

S: also ich möchte + [laughter] ja vielleicht professor werden. [laughter]

I. uhm

S: uh + ja das würde mir sehr gefallen glaube ich.

I: ja für französisch dann?

S: französisch.

I. hm

S: [breath] ich habe + oh ich hab lange gedacht ob das französisch oder oder deutsch sein sollte aber + ich

I: [uhm]

S: glaube dass mein französisch VIEL besser ist [laughter] und

I: uhm

S: + da zögere ich nicht. ich meine + wenn man + über ein wort fünf minuten oder + auch in zwei minuten zögern muss o wenn man nicht ganz sicher ist dann ist das zu + zu gefährlich.

I: uhm

S: und + ich fühle mich viel + viel sicherer mit mit + mit französisch als mit + leider + ich ich hab nicht

I: [uhm]

S: genug zeit in deutschland verbracht und + und ganz + um

I: [uhm]

S: um + dies dieses + sichere gefühl [tape ends]

SECOND EXAMPLE

Interviewer #1
Student #16 (Advanced)

I: uh + sie sind + praktisch am ende ihrer karriere hier in georgetown.
S: ja.
I: uh + welche erwartungen hatten sie eigentlich mit einer universitätsausbildung und: wie sehen sie die erfüllt oder auch nicht erfüllt? [laugh]
S: ja ich glaube dass + ja ich weiss nicht. ich glaube dass was vor fünf jahren so was hab ich so: AKADEMISCHE erwartungen und so ja ich möchte das studieren das studieren und + ja. [click] in der letzten vier jahren + hab ich gedacht dass + dass ja i ich hab so akademische erwartungen + erfüllt aber dass die PERSONLICHE erwartungen + viel viel + mehr bedeutung haben.
I: und in welcher richtung haben sie also persönliche entwicklungen durchgemacht? /?/
S: hm + uh + ja ich meine persönliche + beziehungen beziehungen zwischen leute + und und + ich glaube dass i ich + gelernt habe wie die + ja wie die menschlichkeit + funkt funktioniert oder so was. + wie die
I: [wie meinen sie das?
S: wie meine ich das? wie hm *let's see. + ja ich meine + kann ich die + kann ich die menschen besser verstehen +
I: aha
S: und ihre: motivierung und so was besser verstehen.
I: und wie wie wie kann man das am besten erfahren derartige + einsichten?
S: ja ich glaube + nur ein weg das die die erfahrung die tägliche erfahrung.
I: aha aha also hat da das studium unter umständen gar keinen einfluss?
S: ne nei nei + ja ich hab ich hab so viele: + k uh ku kurse genommen das so interessant war und so uh zum beispiel die die: *woman studies*kurses [starts with german pron., ends with engl.] und und so was dass

I: uh sie sagen gerade *woman studies. geben wir da ein bisschen information. wo stehen sie da? warum finden sie so /int/

S: [uhm]

I: wichtig? /?/

S: [so interessant? weil ich glaube dass es so + ein andere per perspektiv ist + das ich nie gesehen habe. ich meine in so + in englische kurse oder: oder + gesch kurse von geschichte oder so was gab es NIE diese pe perspektive + von den frauen. es ist ganz ganz anders

I: [uhm] [uhm und]was ist nun die perspektive der frauen?

S: uh + das ist eine [laugh] gute frage. + hm + ich glaube dass dass die erfahrung der frau + ganz anders des ist von der der erfahrung eines mannes. und das ist + ja dass man kann diese erfahrung noch nicht so + ja man kann nicht sagen es ist so und so und so weil wir keine + tradition der frauen haben und + und + die mehrheit dieser dinge so: + uh neu sind und + versch verstehen sie + was ich meine?

I: [uhm] [aber wo sehen sie selbst IHRE besonderheit sozusagen als frau?

S: [meine besonderheit? uh [sigh] [sniff] + hm + ja ich glaube dass ich + hm dass mein mein: bewusstheit so + erhöht? sagt man das? [low] erhöht geworden ist + dass + dass jetzt sehe ich wie + wie ja persönlich uh kann ich sehen mit mit den studenten und so was was so die die ganze: + e uh + die /temati/ + die studenten + sagen die gegen frauen sind und so was habe ich ja hab ich früher nie gesehen. oder oder bemerkt. und auch und auch in in klasse. so oh kann ich nicht glauben. + so die

I. [geben sie mir ein beispiel wie das /?/

S: ok + habe ich habe ich so eine: [sniff] professor gehabt und er hat so uh es war eine: + eine: + /*/ *economics kurs und + hat er so beispiele + gegeben so er hat gesagt no ja uh + es ist erstaunlich + wie wenn es uh + w was heisst /versch/? + wenn es so: + etwas etwas + /wie heisst das?/ oben ist oben steht + wie wenn ein frau + ein hausfrau allein ist kann sie das + wie sagt man *reach? +

I. uhm

S: uh und + aber wenn ihr mann da ist kann sie das NICHT machen. und ich habe gesagt [laugh] WAS? wa was ist das? was für ein beispiel ist das? und so dinge wie das.

I: aha

S: oh ja auch auch ich glaube das + das ganze ding mit uh herr [name deleted by the analyst]. dinge so wie das. und was noch?

I: also wie sehen die männer dann die frauen primär?
S: primär?
I: uhm wie sehen sie sie?
S: [silence]
I: immer noch.
S: immer noch? [laugh] als als + unter: untertaner? *is that? + untertaner ja ich glaube ja.
I: [uhm] [uhm + uh: + haben sie irgendwelche vorstellungen wie man das ändern könnte?
S: hm + ja ich glaube dass dass + uh + erst dass + die frauen muss die + das bewusstsein anderer frauen erhöhen und dann ist das so eine: + persönliche kampf persönliches kampf + ein tägliches persönliches kampf. man muss + machen was was man kann. und dann wenn + dann ich glaube dass nur durch so diese: [maisk.] tägliche persönliche kampf uh + kann so ein eine + [sniff] + gruppebewusstsein? entstehen.
I: uhm uhm uhm + uh wie sehen sie uh ganz spezifisch ihre eigene uh: + ihren beitrag + in so einer + derartigen bewegung.[laugh]
S: was meinen sie?
I: also uh + das was sie gerade nannten also persönlicher kampf uh wie+ ganz spezifisch wie könnte so was für SIE aussehen? [laugh]
S: ja: und uh ok uh wenn + zum beispiel wenn es so eine gruppe von studenten + gibt und die und die männer oder so was [lower] sagen die *no ja man muss su + man muss sagen ah was sagst du denn und + hörst du was du sagst. und auch + auch habe ich so: + uh + in andere kurse nicht nur *woman studies but in andere kurse + so: thema + s thema ges gesucht + /wahl?/thema habe ich so eine: + ein arbeit vor uh + spanisch literatur + geschrieben also + [click] antifeminist uh literatur + am in + in der fünfzehnten jahrhundert. und /?/
I: was haben sie da gefunden?
S: oh dass es so eine reihe von literatur gibt weil es weil die tradition der /*court li lav?/? + so berühmt war und hat
I: [aha]
S: hat die frauen + uh + so wie gott + beschrieben und so was.
I: ja und das ist doch an sich eine eine positive sache + wenn die frauen da auf einmal so: hervorgerufen werden.
S: ja aber nicht für die für die leute der + t uh + der kirche die sehr religiöse + leute. die haben so gegen die: die + *ero *erotisism + der religion gekämpft. die haben das alles als ein: + verschlechterung der religio der religion gesehen.
I: aber war diese ganze era eine: eine: + möglicherweise: + uh verb ein besseres /?/ der position der frau? die ganze bewegung?

S: nei weil weil die ganze bewegung so frau als objekt gesehen hat. als als: + physikalisch u u und + und + objekt gesehen.

I: uhm uhm also auch keine verbesserung.
S: *right. + ja.
I: uhm + uh uh was sind ihre pläne be be beruflich?
S: weiss ich nicht. möchte ich hier so ich glaube + ein jahr oder so was hier bleiben
I: in washington?
S: ja und jetzt suche ich eine stelle. [click] und +
I: welche richtung suchen sie?
S: uh + entweder so eine frauenorganisation + oder eine
I: [hm]
S: stelle uh + wo ich meine sprache [sniff] benutzen kann.
I: uhm uhm haben sie sich schon umgeschaut?
S: ja hab ich hab ich schon eine + eine dinge gefunden aber +
I: uhm + noch nicht so
S: ja.
I: noch vorzeitig.
S: ja ja
I: ja
S: uhm
I: uh + sie waren ein jahr in deutschland.
S: nein einen sommer.
I: sie waren einen sommer in deutschland.
S: [ja.]
I: uh + haben sie da irgendwelche besonderen eindrücke bekommen + von der deutschen situation?
S: von der deutschen situation? + [cough] + ja hab ich hab ich + *ye er primär hab ich so dinge + dinge gefunden gesehen das so + uh das produkt der deutschen kultur sind + und und ich ich meine so ich hab so viele + eigenschaften von meiner mutter gesehen da gesehen und hab
I: [laugh] ah ja
S: ich gesagt ah + na ja das ist das ist kultur das ist nicht + sie.
I: aha zum beispiel?
S: zum beispiel? uh + das misstrauen der menschen + [forced laugh] das + ich glaube dass dass + die deutschen glauben dass ja man muss immer immer sicher sein dass die menschen + uh + [click] *would take advantage of him. das ist so ein ein +
I: aha
S: ein aus? [low] +
I: können sie da eine erklärung dafür geben?
S: ja + uh zum beispiel uh + das *common talk von christiane. wenn wir von geld gesprochen haben und so was und sie ja

[laugh] zum beispiel.
I: /aha/
S: uhm
I: uhm
I: uhm uhm ja. + andere dinge?
I: andere dinge? [sniff] uh + hm + ja ich glau ja + als ich in + trier war + hab ich so eine: vermieterin die so + /*?/ [low] war ko könnte ich nicht glauben. uh + sie sie hat immer so so dinge uh wie + sie war so + nervös von schlüssel und türe und und fenster und oh [sigh] + ja einmal ha [sniff] uh + meine zimmerkamaraden die fenster offen lassen und war das ein oh das war unglaublich.
I: was waren die argumente?
S: was war die argumente? dass + uh + ja + so + jetzt bist du in deutschland und du musst wie die deutschen + sein und in deutschland uh + liesst man die fenster nie offen + und so so /ging/ das. + und sie hat immer gesagt
I: [uhm]
S: na ja ich weiss nicht was du in *america tust aber [laugh] im deutschland [laugh]
I: hmm + uh fanden sie irgendwie eine eine negative einstellung gegen amerika?
S: + in deutschland? oh ja. uhm. + uh + ich glaube aber dass es so + dass die + dass es so zweiseitig ist. uh + weil + die deutschen + die haben die + haben so ein negativer eindruck von amerika von von + [click] ja von den leute die oberflächlichkeit und die leute sind faul und so was. [breath] aber die + die m + die /bund/ die gute dinge haben + so wie das geld und + die gelegenheiten und so /?/
I: uhm uhm + ok also uh glauben sie dass es da eine möglichkeit gibt das irgendwie zu verändern?
S: [silence]
I: /?/ negativ /?/?
S: hm zu verändern? + ja ich glaube dass durch persönliche beziehungen uh zwischen deutschen und amerikanern aber das ist auch so + unsicher unsicher.
I: haben sie /eben/ + erfolg dabei gehabt + die meinungen der leute zu verändern?
S: zu verändern? + uh + k kann ich sagen + kann ich nein sagen muss ich nein sagen weil + die deutschen + die ich getroffen habe waren so ein bisschen anders. die haben so diese negative eindrücke. n ni die waren nicht so stark. aber + uh an uh an die andere seite habe ich uh m habe ich einen vetter + und er ist was jetzt ist er vierundzwanzig j oder so was und er hat immer + ich hab ihn + e uh + was vor sechs jahren oder so was + uh + kennengelernt + und er hat immer immer so ein starker + uh negativer eindruck von amerika und

es nicht geändert. könnte ich das nicht + [sniff] verändern.
I: war er einmal in amerika?
S: ja. einmal. einmal bei uns in conneticut.
I: aha
S: und uh m drei wochen und war das schrecklich [laugh] schrecklich. weil er so ein negativer: + eindrück hat und und er wollte nichts sehen und nichts machen und weil *america das und *america das und es war + es war + schrecklich.
I: hm + uh + sie sagten sie haben eine eine ganze reihe von kursen genommen die /ausser/ ausserhalb des deutschen waren.
S: [hm]
I: uh + irgendein buch das sie besonders gut /gefunden haben/?
S: ja im uh
I: [überreden sie mich mal ein buch zu lesen.
S: ja /*?/
I: ja?
S: ka kann ich sagen wa das ist uh + na + das hat mein ganze perp perspektiv ein bisschen verändert.
I: das /müssen/ sie mir viel genauer erklären. gut dass ich ihnen das buch gegeben habe.
S: [laugh] uh + ja i: + ich glaube dass ja ich hab so eine reihe von gefühle + richtige e emotionen an diese buch. aber uh + nachdem /?/ ja es + so ein hauptthema dieses buch ist die + f uh versuch einer frau oder + ja einer frau ICH zu /sein/. und hab ich das so interessant gefunden.+ habe ich hab ich das vor nie nie gesehen oder oder so.
I: uhm uhm + uh: wie uh sehen sie ihre eltern das?
S: meine eltern?
I: uhm
S: was? diese ganzer frauending?
I: [uh]also ihre haltung.]ja.
S: ja ich glaube dass mein vater denkt dass das + nicht sehr seriös ist. dass er + er + er möchte dass ich ein *banker + sein würde. und kann ich nicht aber +. und meine mutter hat mir [laugh] hat mir uh + [swallows] no ja ich glaube dass dass gut ist und so was aber ich kann davon nicht nicht viel hören weil ich glaube dass ich /*brainwashed/+ uh + *brainwashed uh + *with i just have to do it [whispering] b uh *brainwashed /?/ /?/? + und und das ist so wie wie + kommunismus ist und habe i aah + könnte ich nie sagen nichts sagen.
I: [laugh]
S: kommunismus hm [laugh]
S: so
I: aha + uh + m man sagt hier immer + uh + auf der einen seite soll die universität persönlichkeit bilden auf der anderen

seite + berufsvorbereitung. wie sehen sie das?
S: ja ich glaube dass man muss + man muss beiden + uh beiden versuchen aber + dass die persönlich persönlichkeiten so: [sniff] + die muss so uh + die muss ein starke bedeutung haben. und ich glaube dass georgetown + die versuchen das nicht. dass dass + ja dass das so ein starker *emphasis *on *on beruf und und + karrie karriere und so was und GELD und + sch
I: [wider-
spricht das nicht uh widerspricht das nicht der katholischen tradition eigentlich?
S: ja ja glaube ich.
I: also in der beziehung tut die georgetown nicht das was eine katholische universität tun sollte?
S: was meinen sie?
I: ich meine uh sie sie uh sie betonen nicht die: entwicklung der persönlichkeit. glauben sie?
S: ja ich glauben sie. *ye ich glaube. ja.
I: hm + uh sie sind also eine eine sehr + materialistische universität?
S: ja. [laugh] ja. uhm + ich glaube dass ich hab + so: [sniff] + man kann das e e emik in den klassen sehen + dass + es gibt so viel klasse die nur + uh + wo es keine unterhaltung gibt. und nur nur + so + *area klasse und: englische klasse und die andere + nichts.
I: ja liegt es an den professoren oder liegt es an den studenten?
S: beide + beide kann ich sagen. + weil ich i weil ich /aha/ versucht mit + einige personen und so was so ein ein thema von einer klasse zu diskutieren und können sie das nicht. + bin ich immer immer erstaunt aber können sie das nicht. es gibt so wenige leute die das machen können.
I: ja sie sind ein richtiger individualist.
S: [laugh] hm
I: ja [name deleted by the analyst] ich glaube wir können da schluss machen wenn man /?/
S: [ok]

THIRD EXAMPLE

Interviewer #2
Student #27 (Intermediate)

I: guten tag. ich heisse [name deleted by the analyst]
S: guten tag. ich heisse [name deleted by the analyst]
I: [name deleted by the analyst] uh danke schön dass sie gekommen sind. sagen sie + in welchem jahr sind sie jetzt in ihrem studium?
S: ich + ich bin am er dritten jahr + im studium.
I: und + wie lange lernen sie schon deutsch?
S: ich lerne deutsch seit + ein jahre.
I: gut und haben sie ihr deutsch uh wo haben sie ihr deutsch gelernt?
S: hier an georgetown.
I: woher kommen sie?
S: ich komme au + aus uh florida.
I: und wieso haben sie sich entschiden nach georgetown zum studium zu kommen?
S: hm ich bin hier im georgetown weil georgetown eine sehr gute programme für die sprache + habe hat.
I: was für sprachen studieren sie?
S: ich studiere italienie italien + und deutsch und französisch.
I: und ihr hauptfach? was ist ihr hauptfach?
S: mein hauptfach ist italienisch + und der französisch.
I: woher kommen sie aus florida? florida ist ein grosser staat nicht wahr?
S: ich komme aus + einer stadt uh + aus palm beach.
I: ah sehr schön. ah sagen sie + welche unterschiede gibt es wenn sie west palm beach und washington vergleichen?
S: uh + ich ich vers
I: vergleichen sie doch west palm beach mit washington.
S: ah + ich finde we washington + uh besser als w west palm beach weil die die + das wetter ist sehr schöne und ja [laugh] sehr schöne ist und: ich ich mag gern nicht uh + die heisse wetter das heisse wetter wie im florida.
I: ja und die umgebung ist wie ist die umgebung ist doch auch anders oder?
S: hm ich kenne nicht das wort umgebung.

I: aha uh + ich stelle mir west palm beach vor mit palmen und strand + ja und sie sagen washington ist besser das
S: [hm ja]
I: verstehe ich nicht. warum?
S: weil ich ich gehe ich + lie am + [click] ich hm nein. + weil für mir das + das architektur hier ist hier besser ist und: hier + man + ALLES machen kann und in florida gibt es nicht [laugh] es gibt nicht zu machen.
I: also ich sehe schon dass sie wahrscheinlich nicht mehr nach florida zurückfahren [laugh] fahren wollen. ja wann waren sie das letzte mal zu hause?
S: ich war uh + [click] wa weihnachten ferien + zu hause.
I: wie sind sie nach hause gekommen?
S: /bi/ mit dem: mit dem: zug. mit dem zug ich +
I: warum? warum haben sie sich für den zug entschlossen?
S: weil die uh + der flug ist sehr billig ist ist nicht billig ist sehr teuer + und: der zug ist billiger.
I: erzählen sie mir doch von ihrem aufenthalt zu hause + zu weihnachten.
S: ich [laugh] ich war nicht so lange zu hause weil + ich bi ich wa ah weil + na ich nach deutschland + war uh + bin gefahren bin.
I: von west palm beach aus nach deutschland oder von washington?
S: [ja]
nein von west palm beach.
I: oh erzählen sie mir + wie ist das gekommen?
S: ich habe viele freunde + viele freunden in + in münchen uh + und + ich + ich wollte + ihr besuchen ihn besuchen.
I: wie lange waren sie in münchen?
S: ich war zwei woche in münchen und: drei /?/ oder vier tage + im garmisch.
I: erzählen sie mir über ihre tage in garmisch. was sie gemacht haben wie sie dort hingekommen sind undsoweiter.
S: uh im garmisch habe ich viele gemacht. ich habe für die uh + erste erste: + time uh schila schigelaufen + und: + das wetter war sehr schlecht aber ich halte das wetter ich halte dieses wetter für schön aber + man sa hat + hat dieses wetter s + schön uh nicht schön: + gefunden. aber ich habe das gefunden s sehr schön. uh- [wants to cont.]
I: [wie war das wetter?
S: uh das wetter war + ein p + [click] blizzard + sehr sehr mit viele schnee und: [breath] viele: no es war sehr kalt + ja sehr sehr kalt [laugh] + und das ist alles aber-
I: [uh +
beschreiben sie mir einen tag vom anfang bis ende in garmisch.

S: uh + ich ich habe um siegen oder acht uhr aufstanden und: mit meiner mutter bin ich: + nach die + *no bin ich + zu der skislaufs [laugh] gegangen und ich war: drauf auf vier stunde + uh schigelauf uh ich bin + ich habe drei /*or/ vier stunde schigelaufen und dann + [click] ich bin: zum zum: abendessen gegang abendessen gegangen? nein. uh + [whispers] ja abendessen gegangen und dann ich habe + ein bisschen nein ich bin ein bisschen eingekaufen? + gegangen [insecure] und: + das its alles.

I: was haben sie gekauft?

S: viele kleider ich habe viele kleider gekauft [laugh] und: [breath] hm + einige schenk schenke für meine: für meine freunden.

I: was für kleider haben sie gekauft?

S: ich habe die typische kleider gekauft wie uh + ein ein lodel ein lodenmantel + ein bavär bayerische lodenmantel

I: [was ist das?]

S: das ist ein mantel das ist + lodengr grün und: + ist typische von p uh + die bay von bayern.

I: uh ich verstehe nicht. was ist denn loden?

S: loden ist ein: + co [whispering] color. loden ist eine + uh color. ich weiss nicht. uh ein grüner color. und das ist *lodengreen man sagt. auf englisch.

I: [ist es baumwolle?

S: ja ja. oh ja ist ein baumwollemantel und + [breath] uh es gibt die [insecurity] rock und: + es gibt rock und mantel + loden + ja.

I: wenn man + in einem deutschen geschäft kleidung kauft +

S: uhm

I: uh + was für unterschiede gibt es zwischen einem deutschen geschäft und einem amerikanischen? was tut man wenn man etwas haben will?

S: in deutschland uh + [click] die + die fräuleinen uh + ich weiss nicht ich kann das nicht sagen + uh + es gibt viele + *salesgirls für einen: + *customer. das ist alles aber es ist + [breath] /?/ amerika

I: [wie wi ja wie wissen sie dass die kleidung passt?

S: ich verstehe nicht passt.

I: wenn sie kleidung kaufen wie wissen sie das auch für SIE gemacht ist dass die kleidung + dass sie t die kleidung tragen können?

S: oh ja. ja ich ich auf uh + uh ich kaufe die normale + /*the/ normalische: kleidung uh + ein rock wie uh + ein normaler rock wie ich ich uh + kaufen hier mi kann.

I: uhm + ah gehen wir [laugh] zu etwas anderem. ich wollte sie bitten was haben sie denn gestern gemacht den ganzen tag?

können sie mir erzählen + es war so ein schöner tag hier.

S: gestern ich bin + die ganze tag zu hause. na nein ich bin ich bin zu uni gegangen aber: + nach de nach dem klasse ich bin zu hause gegangen nach hause gegangen und ich ich war zu hause die ganze abend.

I: warum?

S: weil ich viele arbeit hat [insecure] hätte und: uh zwei oder drei freunde freunden + m mir haben benutzen? mich ha haben benutzen?

I: erklären sie mir das.

S: uh + uh zwei freunden sind nach meiner nach meiner hause gekommen + für für benutzen [insecurity about the word, lower] ja?

I: und w was haben sie da gemacht?

S: nicht nichts besonderes. wir haben uh + wir haben vielen viele + nein. wir haben ge geredet über viele + viele dinge + uh wie

I: [zum]beispiel?

S: ja + wie: bes hm *religion + und: + und politische: dinge und: d die reis die reise di uh + des reaçan nach deutschland

I: was halten sie davon?

S: ich halte da dass + er + nach einer [sigh] *kz *kz *camp + fahren muss + auch auch uh nach nach + dem *cemetery.

I: uhm und + erzählen sie mir doch einige der meinungen die uh gestern abend vertreten wurden in der politik in der religion.

S: uh n nein uh wir haben geredet über + d di politische in *general nicht nichts nichts spes + nichts besonderes + wichtig aber + überhaupt.

I: uhm

S: ich bin ich bin *republican [stottering] und mein freund ist deutsch und er er ist: sozialist und ma uh die andere fräulein ist: ist: + ist demokratisch im und wir haben geredet über die + die phi philosophie. + das war das.

I: uh ein interessanter abend ne? [laugh]

S: ja. [laugh]

I: uh ich möchte sie nun bitten ich habe hier eine karte mit einer situation. wollen wir eine situation spielen. lesen sie zuerst vor was auf der karte steht.

S: muss ich das das lesen auf deutsch or auf englisch?

I: nein *so wie es ist.

S: ah you are in a large department store. tell a sales lady that you want to buy a bottle of french parfume and a scarf. you want your purchases gift wrapped. you inquiry about the price. uhm. /?/

I: was darf es sein bitte?

S: ja ich möchte ich möchte ein + eine französische + *parfume parfüm uh kaufen und auch eine schale eine wolleschale ge gekaufen. [laugh]
I: ah ja wissen sie + das parfüm /?/ können sie hier kaufen aber darf ich vielleicht ein deutsches empfehlen.
S: eine was?
I: ein deutsches + kölnisches wasser oder parfüm empfehlen?
S: nein ich ich möchte eine fran französische parfüm. uh wissen sie welche welche parfüm ich + ich hier + uh kaufen möchte?
I: ja es kommt darauf an wieviel sie ausgeben wollen.
S: uh uh + dann ich kaufe dieses hier und wo kann ich eine schale finden?
I: uh + die einen schal können dort drüben finden am an der ecke dort. aber wieviel möchten sie für das parfüm ausgeben?
S: uh ich ich: + will + uh hundert mark für dieses diese parfüm ausgeben.
I: oh da können wir ihnen sehr viel zeigen. gut ich habe hier eins von guerlain. möchten sie das kaufen?
S: uh ja da das das mir gefällt.
I: noch etwas?
S: nein. ich möchte d die schale ge kaufen. das ist alles.
I: gut vielleicht kann ich ihnen da auch helfen. uh + welche farbe darf es sein?
S: uh + rot rot.
I: und haben sie einen stoff den sie
S: [ja woll]e ro eine wolle rot eine rot wolle.
I: gut. hier haben wir einige.
S: ja aber diese sind zu + uh [click] zu + zu light nein zu uh zu hell.
I: hm + dunkelrot. hier ist einer mit blau. und dunkelrot.
S: gut. ja ich ich ich nehme dieses diese.
I: sonst noch etwas?
S: nein das ist alles danke ah ja uh + können sie die m diese sache uh + entw nein können sie + ein + paket machen? ein:
I: ja was für ein paket?
S: ja. eine + schenke kadet uh paket. für eine schenke.
I: ach schön. ja fragen sie das fräulein an der kasse bitte.
S: danke schön.
I: danke schön. auf wiedersehen.
na sie haben das ganz gut gemacht. [laugh] haben sie solche sachen auch in deutschland gekauft?
S: ge was?
I: haben sie solche sachen auch in deutschland gekauft als sie dort waren?
S: ja ich habe viele + a /?/ gekauft. ja.
I: was haben sie mitgebracht aus deutschland?

S: oh uh ich habe + [sigh] ich habe viel ich habe schon gesagt viele kleidung und: + auch viele bucher bucher und + auch + die die sache + von + [click] uh wood + uh ich weiss nicht das wort wood?
I: erklären sie mir doch was es ist.
S: uh + die dinge das man: von einer einer + [click] ich ich weiss nicht + die sache das + ich weiss nicht ich kann das nicht erklären [laugh].
I: ok danke schön. und was haben sie jetzt vor wenn sie nach diesem interview fertig sind?
S: ich ich muss nach + meiner klasse geh gehen.
I: das ist alles?
S: und dann muss ich: arbeiten.
I: also ist das ende des semesters nicht war also viel glück [laugh] und danke schön dass sie gekommen sind.
S: danke schön.
I: auf wiedersehen.
S: wiedersehen.

APPENDIX III

MORPHOLOGICAL REPAIRS: SUBCATEGORIES

Adjective declination

Auxiliary

Case

Case/Gender

Comparison

Determiner

Gender

Infinitive particle

Mood

Number

Other

Past participle

Personal pronoun

Plural

Possessive pronoun

Preposition

Reflexive pronoun

Relative pronoun

Tense

WERKSTATTREIHE DEUTSCH ALS FREMDSPRACHE

Herausgegeben von
Rolf Ehnert (Bielefeld)
und
Hartmut Schröder (Vaasa)
Muneshige Hosaka (Mito)

In der Reihe erscheinen Arbeiten, die zwischen Theorie und Praxis, zwischen Grundlagenforschung und der didaktischen Verarbeitung ihrer Texte vermitteln. Dabei ist auch an Unterrichtsmaterialien gedacht. Die Grenze zu Themen aus muttersprachlichen und allgemein fremdsprachlichen Bereichen soll dabei möglichst weit gezogen werden.
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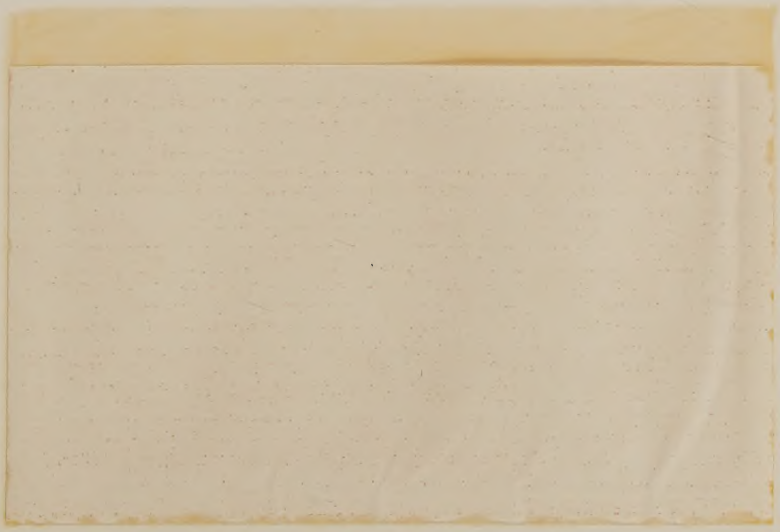

Repair is a characteristic of oral discourse. The ability to repair one's own discourse appropriately is a part of native speakers' communicative competence. This study investigates the repair behaviour of foreign language (L2) learners at different levels of oral proficiency. Two principal types of repair, code- and discourse-related, were distinguished. In the use of these, both quantitative and qualitative changes occur according to development of L2 learner proficiency. L2 learners also differ individually in their repair behaviour. Two main types of language users were identified: safe-players and explorers. The study suggests repair to be related to other contextual factors in the discourse, such as errors, or lexical problems. Thus, in different contexts, use of repair may either enhance or impoverish communication.

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